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ABSTRACT

The grammar of the St. Lawrence Island/Siberian Yupik Eskimo language was written for college-level classes containing a mixture of Yupik speakers and non-speakers, and for students learning the language on their own. It uses only the Central Siberian Yupik dialect spoken on St. Lawrence Island (Alaska) and on a small portion of the Asian mainland. The first chapter gives an overview of Yupik phonology, spelling, and syllabification. Subsequent chapters address specific form classes and grammatical constructions in detail. Exercises are included with each chapter. Appendixes contain charts of noun case endings, verb mood endings, and personal pronouns, and a summary of the ways in which base-final /te/ is affected by suffixes. (MSE)

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Preliminary Edition

Steven A. Jacobson

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Steven A. Jacobson

Alaska Native Language Center
College of Liberal Arts
University of Alaska
Fairbanks
1990

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Four earlier drafts titled Classroom Grammar of Siberian/St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo were photocopied and distributed in limited numbers.

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Preface

This grammar of the St. Lawrence Island / Siberian Yupik Eskimo language was written for college level classes containing a mixture of Yupik speakers and non-speakers (as well as for those studying the language on their own). The students in a language class should all start at about the same level with regard to the ability to produce and differentiate the sounds of the language in question, and other disparities in their language backgrounds should not be too great. Consequently I have limited my classes to speakers of this particular Eskimo language and those who have studied another Eskimo language -- a combination of speakers and prepared non-speakers which works out well.

It should be noted at the beginning that whenever the word "Yupik" is used in this book, it means only *Central Siberian Yupik*, as spoken on St. Lawrence Island Alaska and on the tip of the Asian mainland which lies opposite in the USSR (where it is called *Chaplinski*), and not *Central Alaskan Yupik*.

The sounds and spelling of the language are dealt with in the first chapter of this book.

The morphophonemics of suffixation are dealt with throughout the various chapters as different processes come up.

Only the more basic endings are emphasized so that an entire outline of the subject can be presented within two semesters. Other endings can usually be synthesized by the students and are also to be found in tables in the appendices of this book.

This book is compiled according to the rather old-fashioned mode of language teaching: explanation and examples, followed by exercises usually of the translation type. More modern approaches such as "pattern/substitution", "model dialog", and "total physical response" have not been utilized, primarily because it seems to the author that only the approach followed here will work in a class of mixed speakers and non-speakers and will furnish enough raw material for fruitful discussions that will teach both groups new things. That is, non-speakers will be given grammatical and other background so that they should be able, given enough practice, to learn to speak and understand the language, and speakers will be given an outline of how the language functions.

Vocabulary is a combination consisting primarily of common words chosen for their utility, but also containing a minority of unusual words chosen for their intrinsic interest.

Each chapter starts with a vocabulary list. In the first few chapters these vocabularies are quite large in order that the students will immediately have a stock of words to work with. It is assumed that most of these words will be familiar already to the students either because they speak the language or from cognates in other Eskimo languages.

In each chapter several postbases are introduced and each one given an explanation and examples in the text. After that, grammatical topics are discussed and exemplified. Some of the grammatical discussion consists of information about and analysis of the language which has not previously appeared in print, and

this should be of interest to linguists whose goal is not specifically to learn how to speak and understand the language.

Finally a series of exercises is given for each chapter. The exercises involve only vocabulary and grammatical constructions introduced up to that point.

I am especially grateful to Darlene Orr for providing information about her Yupik language and insight into the way it functions, which have been of utmost value to me in composing this book. Other students, both speakers and non-speakers, who have taken my classes in this language during the several times these clases has been offered in Fairbanks, have helped me correct certain misconceptions I had about the language and have indicated to me where explanations could be improved. I am also grateful to Vera Oovi Kaneshiro from whom I learned much of what I know about the morphology and syntax of Yupik, to Michael Krauss from whose writings I learned most of what I know about the phonology of this language, to G. A. Menovshchikov whose grammatical tables were referred to at an earlier stage of my research, and to Willem de Reuse who has pointed out several types of grammatical constructions in Yupik of which I had been unaware. However, errors appearing in this book are almost certainly the responsibility of the author.

Information in this book supercedes that in the author's **A Grammatical Sketch of Siberian Yupik Eskimo** (1977, 1979).

Undoubtedly there are important topics that have been inadequately or incorrectly dealt with, or that have been entirely neglected. There are also probably many errors of various types in this book, including overgeneralizations and oversimplifications. Very little is said about the "particles" borrowed from Chukchi and the grammar associated with them, nor is "postinflectional morphology" covered. The exercises do not always reinforce what the students have studied earlier in the book as they should, and, having been written entirely by the author (who is not a speaker of the language), some of these exercise sentences probably do not represent natural Yupik speech. Despite these limitations I hope that this book will still be of value, and that in the future its shortcomings can be addressed.

Four earlier drafts of this book have been circulated in very limited numbers. The present edition differs from the previous (fourth) draft in that the title is slightly different, and a small number of corrections have been included.

Comments and further corrections will be appreciated.

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January 1990

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Chapter 1

Yupik sounds and spelling

The Yupik orthography (writing system) uses only standard letters of the English (actually Latin) alphabet, though not all the letters of the alphabet are used and not all have the same sound they do in English. No diacritics (accent marks and the like) are used. In many respects the Yupik orthography is the same as that of Inupiaq and Central Yup'ik, but in some important ways it is different.

The Yupik orthography has been designed such that a given spoken Yupik word can be written in one and only one way, and a given written word can be read in one and only one way. Thus, two words which are pronounced differently, no matter how slight the difference, will have different spellings.

Consonants:

It is best to study the Yupik consonants as arrayed on the chart below rather than in the order in which they occur in the English alphabet.

stops	**p**	**t**			**k**	**kw**	**q**	**qw**	
voiced fricatives	**v**	**l**	**z/y**	**r**	**g**	**w**	**gh**	**ghw**	
voiceless fricatives	**f**	**ll**	**s**	**rr**	**gg**	**wh**	**ghh**	**ghhw**	**h**
voiced nasals	**m**	**n**			**ng**	**ngw**			
voiceless nasals	**mm**	**nn**			**ngng**	**ngngw**			

On the chart above the consonants in the columns toward the left are articulated more toward the front of the mouth and those toward the right are articulated more toward the back of the mouth. Those in the column headed by **k** (that is, **k**, **g**, **gg**, **ng**, and **ngng**) are the *velars*, and those in the column headed by **q** (that is, **q**, **gh**, and **ghh**) are the *uvulars*. Important processes apply to velars and uvulars that do not apply to consonants in the other columns. To the right of the velars are the *rounded* or *labialized* velars (**kw**, **w**, **wh**, **ngw** and **ngngw**), and to the right of the uvulars are the *rounded* or *labialized* uvulars (**qw**, **ghw**, and **ghhw**). These rounded or labialized velars and uvulars (all marked with **w**) are articulated like ordinary uvulars and velars but with the lips rounded.

We shall examine the consonants row by row, starting with the *stops*, consonants so called because the stream of air in one's mouth comes to a complete stop when making one of these consonants. Some examples of Yupik words with **p** are **apa** 'grandfather', **uupa** 'sea peach', and **anipa** 'owl'. Examples of words with **t** are **ata** 'father' and **tuma** 'footprint'. Examples of words with **k** are **kayu** 'fish' and **kiik** 'summer'. Examples of words with **kw**, the *rounded* counterpart of **k** are **kiikw** 'river' and

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aakwa 'my blood'. Examples of words with **q** are **quuk** 'firewood; swan', **uquq** 'blubber', and **qikmiq** 'dog'. Examples of words with **qw** are **qiiqw** 'cough; gray hair', and **taqwaa** 'the side of his face'.

In making *voiced* consonants the vocal cords are allowed to vibrate, while when *voiceless* fricatives are made the vocal cords are kept from vibrating. Compare the sounds of voiced "v" as in "very" and its voiceless counterpart "f" as in "ferry". Yupik stops are *voiceless* like English stops "p", "t", and "k", but unlike these English consonants the Yupik stops are *unaspirated* like the English stops "b", "d", and "g" (as in "good"). To put it another way, English has two series of stops, voiceless somewhat aspirated "p", "t", "k", and voiced unaspirated "b", "d", and "g", while Yupik has one series of stops which are voiceless but unaspirated: **p**, **t**, **k**, etc.

The consonants in the two rows below the stops are *fricatives*, so called because of the friction experienced as the air goes through one's mouth in their articulation. Yupik, like English, has both voiced and voiceless fricatives. Examples of words with **v** are **ivisa** 'halibut' and **ayveq** 'walrus', while examples for **f** are **tafsi** 'belt' and **kufi** 'coffee'. Examples for **l** are **ulaaq** 'woman's knife' and **ulu** tongue, while examples for **ll**, the voiceless counterpart of **l** (the same sound as written "ɬ" in Inupiaq) are **talliq** 'arm' and **alla** 'other'. Examples for **y** are **angyaq** 'boat' and **yuuk** 'person', and for **z**, **aqavzik** 'salmonberry' and **puugzaq** 'beluga', while examples for **s** are **siku** 'ice' and **asak** 'paternal aunt'. **r** is like the Inupiaq "r", somewhat between English "r" and the sound of "s" in "measure"; it is a sound not found in Central Yup'ik. Yupik examples are **repa** 'hammer', **laluramka** 'white person' and **kuuvraq** 'fishnet', while examples of **rr**, which is the voiceless counterpart of **r** and sounds sort of like English "sh", are **atkurraak** 'shabby parka' and **nuverraq** 'knitting'. Examples for **g** are **guygu** 'summer house' and **yuget** 'people', while for **gg**, the voiceless counterpart of **g**, **iigga** 'hand' and **gguta** 'tooth'. The rounded version of **g** is **w** (not **gw** even though the rounded versions of **k** and **q** are **kw** and **qw**). Examples are **wani** 'bell', and **qawaak** 'bird'. The rounded version of **gg** is **wh** (not **ggw**); examples are **whani** 'here' and **whanga** 'I, me'. Yupik **gh** is the sound written with "r" in Central Yup'ik and with "dotted g" in Inupiaq. Yupik examples are **agha** 'medicine' and **aghnaq** 'woman', while examples of **ghh**, the voiceless counterpart of **gh**, are **iighhaq** 'string story', **taghnughhaq** 'child', and **ghhuuq** 'bullet'. The rounded version of **gh** is **ghw**; examples are **qiighwa** 'his gray hair' and **qiighwyaq** 'aurora'. The rounded version of **ghh** is **ghhw**; an example is **aaghhwaaghaquq** 'he is crawling'. **h** is voiceless and is just like English **h**; examples are **haam** 'that's enough' and **aahaaleketiiq** which is the name of a particular game.

In the last two rows are the *nasals* so called because of the passage of air through the nose as they are articulated. As with the fricatives, a nasal is voiced if the vocal cords vibrate and voiceless if they do not vibrate. Voiceless nasals are not found in English nor in Inupiaq. Examples for **m** are **ma** 'sound' and **amaa** 'wolf', while for its voiceless counterpart **mm**, **naafqemmi** 'when there is bad weather'. Examples of **n** are **nuna** 'land' and

naa 'mother', while for its voiceless counterpart **nn**, **pennaq** 'cliff' and **liinnaquq** 'he's going to learn, he studies'. Examples of **ng** are **aanguq** 'it is big' and **angak** 'maternal uncle'. Observe that **ng** is a single consonant sound (the same sound as written in Inupiaq by angma, "n" with a "tail"). When the two sounds **n** and **g** occur together in that order an apostrophe is written between them to differentiate that situation from that of the single sound **ng**. An example showing the use of the apostrophe is **an'gighaquq** 'he is going out for fresh air'. Examples for **ngng**, the voiceless counterpart of **ng** are **aaptengnga** '(you all) answer me!' and **tengngaak** 'deep hollow sound'. The rounded version of **ng** is **ngw** as in **angwaaghun** 'paddle'. Finally the rounded version of **ngng** is **ngngw** as in **naangngwaaghaquq** 'he is swinging'.

It is useful to know which consonants are in which columns of the chart since as suffixes are added to a word, changes often occur at the juncture by a sound (and therefore the letter for that sound) being replaced by one above or below it in the same column of the chart. For example 'woman' is **aghnaq**, 'girl' is **aghnaghaq** where the stop **q** in **aghnaq** is replaced by the corresponding voiced fricative **gh**, and 'little woman' is **aghnaghhaq** where the stop **q** in **aghnaq** is replaced by the corresponding voiceless fricative **ghh**. Again 'eye' is **iya**, and 'my eye' is **iiska** where, along with doubling the **i** and deleting the **a** when the 'my' ending is added, the voiced fricative **y** of **iya** is replaced with its voiceless counterpart **s**.

Unlike all other Eskimo languages, Yupik does not have long or geminated consonants.

Vowels:

There are four vowels in Yupik. They are **a** as in **ata** 'father', **u** as in **una** 'this one', **i** as in **iya** 'eye', and **e** as in **meq** 'water' or **tepet** 'odors'. The last vowel is not found in Inupiaq. Since English vowel letters stand for several different sounds while Yupik vowel letters stand for only one sound each, it may help to observe that **a** is like English "a" in "what", Yupik **u** is like English "u" in "glue", Yupik **i** is like English "i" in "taxis", and Yupik **e** is like English "e" in "taxes" (technically a *shwa*). Yupik **a**, **i**, and **u** are called *full* or *prime* vowels and differ from **e** in that full vowels can occur double, while **e** can only occur single, and full vowels can occur as the final sound of a word, while **e** cannot. Examples of short and long full vowels are **na** 'home' vs. **naa** 'mother', **pi** 'thing' vs. **pii** 'he did something to him', and **sikuni** 'his own ice' vs. **sikunii** 'he said it froze'.

Unlike all other Eskimo languages Yupik does not have diphthongs, that is, clusters of two unlike vowels.

Exercise:
For each of the words below provide the consonant, single vowel, or double vowel needed to correctly fill the blank. One who doesn't know the language may need to hear someone pronounce these.

I. k vs. q

VI. e vs. i

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1) ta___eq 'vein'
2) u___suq 'winter'
3) ___ani___ 'snowflake'
4) ___eni___ 'to point'
5) ___u___aq 'middle'

II. g vs. gh
1) qe___aq 'meat rack'
2) se___leq 'bad'
3) kem___a 'its skin'
4) pe___nem 'finally'
5) ___evuq 'it faded'

III. gg vs. ghh
1) ___atek 'shirt'
2) ___iitaa 'he plucked it'
3) ii___aa 'his glove'
4) ___ayek 'shoulder blade'
5) ___uutaa 'he's cold'

IV. g vs. gg
1) yu___aq 'little man'
2) ta___i 'come here'
3) laa___u 'dig it'
4) aapti___u 'ask him'
5) nuniva___et 'roseworts'

V. gh vs. ghh
1) a___uuq 'it rotted'
2) yu___aq 'to pray'
3) gaa___u 'cook it'
4) qikmi___aq 'little dog'
5) aghna___aq 'girl'

1) t___pa 'odor'
2) ___p___k 'to be sharp'
3) s___k___k 'squirrel'
4) n_ _ka 'my home'
5) q___z___q 'lip'

VII. single vs. double vowel
1) ulgh___q 'sea lion'
2) ___nghaq 'harpoon'
3) ___m___ 'wolf'
4) ___tqa 'my name'
5) k___nka 'my wounds'

VIII. use the correct letter(s)
1) s___ ___un___ ___ 'antler'
2) m___k___l___iiq 'boy'
3) a___v___ ___ 'whale'
4) s___ ___ ___n___q 'sun'
5) ___am___y___ ___ 'sled'
6) k___m___ ___k 'boots$_2$'
7) na___atuq 'he heard'
8) na___uya 'seagull'

IX. rounded vs. non-rounded
1) kii___et 'rivers'
2) repa___aaq 'hammer'
3) negh___aaq 'bone'
4) qa___ani 'outside'
5) qa___ani 'inside, northeast'
6) taa___na 'that one coming'
7) umughqaa___i 'have sleep paralysis!'
8) qavaa___i 'be asleep!

Fricative (and nasal) undoubling, or automatic devoicing:

Certain restrictions on what combinations of sounds are possible in Yupik have led to rules which allow simplifications in spelling. These simplifications are roughly equivalent to the principle in English spelling, taken for granted for the most part, which allows us to write the plural forms of both "cat" and "dog" with an "s": "cats" "dogs", even though in "cats" the "s" is voiceless while in "dogs" it is voiced (sounding like "z"). It is the nature of the sounds represented by "t" and "g" which determines the sound of the following "s". Now in Yupik what happens is that those voiceless fricatives and nasals whose voicelessness is indicated by doubling or partially doubling the voiced form (that is **ll**, **rr**, **gg**, **ghh**, **ghhw**, **nn**, **mm**, **ngng** and **ngngnw**) are written in their undoubled forms when next to certain other consonants that give the signal for voicelessness of both consonants. The principle behind this is that in a cluster of two (adjacent) consonants either both will be voiced or both will be voiceless, with one class of exceptions. The exceptions, the only kind of mixed cluster occuring, is a voiced nasal followed by a (voiceless) stop, voiceless fricative, or by another voiceless nasal, for example, **aamta** 'as we well know', **amllughaa**

'he stepped over it', and **nunamnni** 'in our land'. The spelling simplification process itself, which can be termed *fricative (and nasal) undoubling* from the point of view of one writing, or *automatic devoicing* from the point of view of one reading, can be expressed with three rules:

(1) A fricative is undoubled next to a stop or one of the voiceless fricatives where voicelessness is not indicated by doubling (**f**, **s** and **wh**). Some examples are **elpek** 'you' (**l** is voiceless since next to the stop **p**), **aapluku** 'after asking him' (**l** is voiceless), **qerta** 'matted hair' (**r** is voiceless), **egtaa** 'he threw it away' (**g** is voiceless), **esghaghtuq** 'he opened his eyes' (the first **gh** is voiceless since it is next to **s** which is a voiceless fricative and the second **gh** is voiceless since it is next to the stop **t**), **aatgha** 'his name' (**gh** is voiceless), **ingaghfik** 'place to lie down' (**gh** is voiceless since it is next to **f**), and **esla** 'outdoors' (**l** is voiceless since it is next to **s**).
(2) A nasal is undoubled after a stop or one of the voiceless fricatives where voicelessness is not indicated by doubling. Some examples are **qikmiq** 'dog' (**m** is voiceless since it comes after the stop **k**), **gguutnga** 'his tooth' (**ng** is voiceless since it comes after **t**), and **taaqnii** 'he said she quit' (**n** is voiceless).
(3) A fricative or nasal is undoubled when it comes after a doubled voiceless fricative, except that if the second fricative is (voiceless) **ll** then the first fricative is undoubled instead. Some examples are **kaallghii** 'the one who arrived' (**gh** is voiceless since it comes after the doubled voiceless fricative **ll**), **eggnaqaa** 'he's going to throw it away' (**n** is voiceless since it comes after **gg**), and **ingaghhragkiightuq** 'he quickly lay down' (**r** is voiceless since it comes after **ghh**). Examples showing what happens when **ll** is the second voiceless fricative of the cluster are **eglluk** 'stove' (**g** is voiceless and it is undoubled rather than **ll**), **igleghlluni** 'after he traveled' (**gh** is voiceless and undoubled rather than **ll**). The exception made in the case of **ll** is a concession to the prominence of voiceless **ll** and its contrast to voiced **l** in the mind of Yupik speakers, as opposed to the situation with other voiceless fricatives and nasals.

One should note that while **ghh** is "undoubled" to **gh**, **wh** is not changed to **w** next to a stop. Thus one writes **kiiwhtaq** 'thing of the river' and not **kiiwtaq**.

Exercises: (one need not know the words to do these exercises) Rewrite the words below undoubling voiceless fricatives and nasals where appropriate and necessary. Do not undouble if doing so would change the sound of the word.

1) riiggta 'den'
2) aatghha 'his name'
3) taghnughhaq 'child'
4) esllallugughhtaa 'it rained'
5) allpa 'murre'
6) nekrrek 'hook'
7) ingaghhlluni 'after he lay down'

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8) nguutngnguk 'wart'
9) qallta 'scale'
10) Sivuqaghhmmiit 'people of Gambell or SLI'
11) allgngnughhtuq 'it dove'
12) yuggllak 'big man'
13) meteghhlluk 'raven'
14) aallggutat 'broom'
15) iiggrraggkiighhtuq 'he dug fast'
16) niillghhwaaq 'soda cracker'
17) ifllaaq 'it got lost'
18) mellquq 'fur, feather'
19) qikmmighhaq 'small dog'
20) neghhtuq 'he ate'

Indicate for the words below any fricative or nasal which is voiceless only because of the consonant it is next to:

1) suflugaq 'gun'
2) qaltaq 'bucket'
3) paapga 'its tail'
4) eglluku 'after throwing it away'
5) umughqaaguq 'he had sleep paralysis'
6) yughaghtuq 'he prayed'
7) angyaghllak 'big boat'
8) esghaghlleqamken 'I'll see you'
9) tepnga 'its odor'
10) qavaghsugnituq 'he seems to be sleeping'
11) atullguuq 'he sings well'
12) neghyaghqaq 'food supply'
13) ingaghhragkiightuq 'he lay down quickly'

Stress, rhythmic length, and overlength:

Yupik has a system of rhythmic vowel stress (or syllable stress), and, associated with this, rhythmic lengthening of certain single (underlyingly short) vowels. Basically, every other vowel (2nd, 4th, 6th, etc.) of a word is stressed. However, the last vowel of a word isn't stressed. Examples showing this assignment of stress to alternating vowels (indicating stress by accent marks) are **angyághllagllángyugtuq** 'he wants to make a big boat' (note the lack of stress on the last vowel of the word), and **aángqaghlláglangyúgtuq** 'he wants to make a big ball'. Actually when stress is assigned to one vowel (always the second, as we shall see) of a double vowel, in effect both vowels are stressed, so that the stress at the beginning of the second example falls equally on each **a** of **aang**.

The assignment of stress to alternating vowels gets modified in one circumstance. If a vowel which is immediately followed by a second vowel would be assigned stress by the pattern of stress on alternating vowels, then the stress *advances* to that second vowel, and alternating stress assignment proceeds from that point. An example showing stress *advancement* is **angyiilkumtúngllu** 'also if we two don't have a boat' where stress has been advanced from the first **i** of **yiil** to the second **i** of **yiil**. Were it not for stress advancement this word would have the same stress pattern as **angyinghilkúmtungllu** 'also if we two

don't make a boat' where stress advancement doesn't occur (and thus 'also if we two don't have a boat' would be stressed **angyiilkúmtungllu**, rather than as it is stressed).

A *full* vowel (**a**, **u**, or **i**, but not **e**) which is single, stressed and is followed by a single consonant will be pronounced long. This is called *rhythmic length*. Examples showing rhythmic length are **qayâni** 'in the kayaks', and **qayâpigkâni** 'in the future authentic kayak', where the circumflex shows rhythmic length and stress.

In general a vowel which is rhythmically lengthened is neither longer nor shorter than a double vowel. For example, in **angâkaánga** 'I am his uncle', the vowel **a** of **nga** and the **aa** of **kaa** are of equal length but for different reasons. Note that in this example the stressed **a** of **kaá** is not rhythmically lengthened because it is not single.

When stress is *advanced* from one vowel onto a second vowel followed by a single consonant, then that second vowel is *overlengthened* and given a falling intonation. This overlengthening serves to distinguish a double vowel from a single vowel with rhythmic length in the same position. For example, compare **qayaâni** 'in his (another's) kayak' (with overlength shown by the circumflex over the second **a** of **yaa**) with **qayâni** 'in the kayaks', and compare **qayâpigkaâni** 'in his (another's) future authentic kayak' with **qayâpigkâni** 'in the future authentic kayaks'.

It is not always easy to hear the difference between rhythmic length of a single (or underlyingly short) vowel and overlength of a double (or underlyingly long) vowel in the same position. In fact for some speakers of Yupik there may not be a distinction in sound between these two situations. However, there are often grammatical clues as to which situation holds.

On the other hand, the difference between a single non-rhythmically lengthened vowel and a double vowel in the same position is quite noticeable and often affects the rhythm on down the word. For example, compare **aghâliqûminîki** 'if he provides them with medicine' with **aghâliiqumîniki** 'if he prepares medicine for them'.

Exercises:
In the following words mark rhythmic stress, rhythmic length, and overlength. This can be done whether or not one knows how to pronounce the words.

1) kenighaqa 'I pointed at it'
2) aghveliighllequnga 'I will cook whale'
3) iflamaaq 'it is lost'
4) nengyuqaqa 'she is my grandmother'
5) meqsukuvek 'if you are thirsty'
6) taghnughhaghmeng 'of the child'
7) angyaminillu 'also in his own boat'
8) neghegkaaguq 'it has been eaten'
9) estamat 'four'
10) mangteghapikaput 'it is our real house'
11) angyani 'in the boats'
12) angyaani 'in his boat'

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13) aghulaqusillu 'also you all left'
14) aghulaaqusillu 'also you all are dancing'

Indicate the correct spelling for each of the following. To do this one will need to know how to pronounce the word, or to hear it pronounced correctly, or one may use clues from another Eskimo language.

1) fish: iqalluk iqaalluk
2) my knife: savika saviika
3) it is skin: amiguq amiiguq
4) I wanted to eat it: neghyugaqa neghyuugaqa
5) woman's-knives: ulaghet ulaaghet
6) birds: qawaget qawaaget
7) paternal aunts: asaget asaaget
8) my ears: sigutegka siguutegka
9) he pinched it: pumsugaa pumsuugaa
10) trees: uqfiget uqfiiget
11) it is a parka: atkuguq atkuuguq atkuguuq atkuuguuq
12) about her (another's) dog: qikmineng qikmiineng
13) heart: ighsaquq ighsaaquq
14) he is refusing: ighsaquq ighsaaquq

Syllabification:

A *syllable* of a Yupik word is of the form CV, CVC, CVV, or CVVC, and at the beginning of a word it may also be of the form V, VC, VV, or VVC (where V is a vowel and C is a consonant). To put it succinctly, syllable boundaries fall between consonants (recalling that **ll, gh, ng, ngngw** etc. are single consonants though written with two or more letters), or between a vowel and the following consonant. For example, the syllables of **angyaq** 'boat' are **ang** and **yaq**, so the word divided into syllables is **ang/yaq**. The syllables of **nuna** 'land' are **nu** and **a** (and not **nun** and **a**), so the word divided into syllables is **nu/na**.

Chapter 2

Unpossessed plural and dual nouns

Vocabulary (nouns):

afsengaq*	mouse, vole
aghnaq	woman
aghneq	day
amaa	wolf
angyaq	boat
anipa	owl
ateq	name
atkuk	parka
ayveq	walrus
gguta	tooth
iya^{e}	eye
kamek	skin boot, mukluk
kaviiq	fox
kemek	flesh, skin
kii	wound
kiik	summer
kiikw	river
mangteghaq	house
na^{e}	home
nanuq*	polar bear
naayghaq	mountain
neghqwaaq	bone
qikmiq	dog
qiiqw	grey hair
qiiqw	cough *(homonyms with the preceding word)*
qulmesiin	cooking pot
repa	hammer
riigta	animal's den
savik	knife
sigun, siguta	ear
siku	ice
sikuq*	needle
tafsi	belt
taghnughhaq*	child
ulaaq	semi-lunar knife, woman's-knife
uupa	"sea peach"
uyghak	stone, rock
yaqulek	angel
yughaghta	minister
yu<u>k	person, man *(see below concerning "<u>")*
Yupik	Siberian / St. Lawrence Island Eskimo

Endings:

~$_{sf}$%:(e)t	*N*-s *"absolutive" plural*
~$_{sf}$%:(e)k	*N*-s$_2$ *"absolutive" dual*

Discussion of grammatical topics:

Words and bases:

All the nouns given in the vocabulary above are in the *unpossessed absolutive singular form*. They are *unpossessed* in that no indication is given of an *owner*, that is, **siguta** means 'ear', but there are other forms of this word that mean

'his ear' or 'my ear'. The apparatus for constructing such forms will be presented in later chapters. *Absolutive* is the *case*, or family of endings for a noun, which is used for, among other things, the *citation* form of the noun. *Singular* means one thing in contrast to *dual* which means two things and *plural* which, in Yupik and other Eskimo languages means three or more things rather than two or more things as in English.

To form duals and plurals, as well as possessed forms and non-absolutive forms, one must go beneath the surface of the citation form as given above and find the *abstract combining form* of the word, commonly called the *base* of the word. It is common to write base forms with hyphens after them to show that they are abstract combining forms and not possible spoken forms.

A noun that ends in a full vowel in the citation form will have a base form just like the citation form (but the base form will be written with a hyphen after it), except that some nouns ending in **a** have bases ending in **e** instead of **a**. These will be written with superscript **e** (for example **na**$^{\mathbf{e}}$ in the list above). However the **a** of a word ending in **ta** almost always comes from **e** on the base so a superscript **e** is not necessary (for example **siguta** in the above list is written without a superscript **e**, but the base ends in **e** nevertheless). The few exceptional words ending in **ta** where the base also ends in **ta** and not **te** will be noted when they occur.

Nouns that end in **n** in their citation forms have base forms with **te** in place of the final **n**. Thus a base form ending in **te** can lead to a noun ending in either **ta** or in **n** and in fact most nouns that end in one can equally well end in the other, except that if there is a consonant before a final **te** of a base, the citation form of the word can only end in **ta** and not **n**.

Nouns that end in **q**, **k**, **qw** or **kw** in their citation forms end in the corresponding (voiced) fricatives, **gh**, **g**, **ghw**, and **w** respectively in their base forms.

Citation forms (absolutive singular) of nouns can end only in a full vowel, **a**, **i**, or **u**, or in one of a limited range of consonants, **n**, **q**, **k**, **qw** or **kw** (except for a very few nouns that end in **p** and in **y**). Bases can end only in a vowel (including now the vowel **e**) or in one of the consonants **gh**, **g**, **ghw** or **w**. Citation forms cannot end in **m**, for example, though *inflected* (non-citation, expanded forms) can, nor, to take another example, in **gh**, though abstract, non-spoken, base forms can, nor, to take yet another example, in **p** (and in fact no Yupik word ends this way). Likewise, base forms cannot end, for example, in **q**, though citation forms and other words can end this way.

Examples:

citation form	*base*
nuna 'land'	**nuna-**
tuma$^{\mathbf{e}}$ 'footprint'	**tume-**
piitun, piituta 'seed'	**piitute-**
qayaq 'kayak'	**qayagh-**
manik 'egg'	**manig-**
saaqw 'side'	**saaghw-**
aakw 'blood'	**aaw-**

A special note concerning the word **yu<u>k**: the citation form has a long or double **u** so that 'person' is **yuuk**, but the base has a short or single **u**, **yug-**. This is the only word that is like this, but there are other words which have a letter which appears in some forms but not in others and such words will be presented in vocabularies as **yu<u>k** is here with the letter in question in angle brackets.

Exercise:

Determine the base or combining form of each of the words given above in this chapter's vocabulary.

Formation of plurals and duals:

Unpossessed absolutive plurals are formed by attaching **t** to the base form of nouns. This **t** is an *ending*, and all endings as well as *postbases* (discussed later) are attached to the base form of the noun rather than directly to the citation form. Endings and postbases are attached in a number of different ways depending on how they interact with the various possible final segments (letters or sounds) of the base (or with the final segment and the one before it). These patterns of interaction are shown in this book by various symbols and parenthesized letters which will be explained. The full form of the plural ending **t** is **~$_{sf}$%(e)t**. Before explaining exactly what these symbols mean, it should be noted that the *dual* ending is just like the plural, has the same symbols in front of it meaning that it attaches in the same way, as the plural, but has **k** in place of **t**. Thus if one knows how to form the plural, or to put it another way, if one understands why the plural is formed as it is, he automatically knows about the dual as well, and about other endings which are preceded by these symbols.

The symbol **~$_{sf}$** means that the ending (or suffix) in question will drop *semi-final* **e** from a base which has one. A *semi-final* **e** is one which is followed by another letter (necessarily **gh** or **g** on a base). Such endings are said to be *semi-final* **e** *dropping*. An ending which drops semi-final **e** will not drop such an **e** if doing so would lead to a cluster of three consonants. When a semi-final (or final) **e** is dropped and the base has only one vowel (one syllable with one vowel in it) preceding the **e** and when the vowel of that syllable is a full vowel (not itself an **e**) then that full vowel will be lengthened (doubled in writing). It is as if the **e** "hops" toward the front of the front of a word and changes into a full vowel. Note that all the requirements given here must be met if this **e**-hopping is to occur.

The symbol **%** means that the ending will drop *weak* consonants and keep *strong* consonants from bases. Of the possible base-final consonants, **g**, **ghw** and **w** are invariably strong, but **gh** may be either weak or strong. A **gh** which is preceded by **e** or by two (full) vowels is invariably strong. A **gh** which is preceded by one full vowel (with a consonant in front of that) will most likely be weak. A minority of such **ghs** are strong however, and there is no way to tell which they are by other aspects of the word. This book indicates this minority of unpredictably strong **ghs** with an asterisk either after the base or after the citation form. A speaker of the language can tell whether a **gh** is weak or

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strong by attaching the ending **mun** meaning 'to, toward' which also drops weak **gh** but keeps strong **gh**. Thus, **afsengaq** has a base, **afsengagh-**, ending in a strong **gh** as shown by the fact that one says **afsengaghmun** 'to the mouse' (hence the asterisk on the word list above), but **aghnaq** has a base, **aghnagh-**, ending in a weak **gh** as shown by the fact that one says **aghnamun** 'to the woman'. Endings which drop weak final consonants but keep strong final consonants are said to be *half-retaining*.

The semicolon, :, will be discussed presently.

The **e** in parentheses on the dual and plural endings is actually a part of the ending rather than an attachment symbol. It is only used part of the time however, while the **t** is used all the time. **(e)** is used if the base, in the form in which the **t** is added, still has a final consonant on it. Thus **(e)** will be used only with bases that end in a strong consonant. Bases that end in a vowel don't end in a consonant of course, and bases which end in weak **gh** drop that **gh** and hence no longer have a final consonant when the **t** is added.

One last but important process is indicated by the semicolon. When the above described operations are performed, if the result has the uvular **gh** in between two single vowels, the first of which is a full vowel, then the **gh** drops out, and the **e** changes to match up with the full vowel it is now next to. This is called *uvular dropping*.

Examples:

citation form	*base*	*plural*
nuna 'land'	**nuna-**	**nunat** 'lands'
tuma* 'footprint'	**tume-**	**tumet** 'trails'
piitun 'seed'	**piitute-**	**piitutet** 'seeds'
qayaq 'kayak'	**qayagh-**	**qayat** 'kayaks' *(weak* **gh** *dropped)*
maniK 'egg'	**manig-**	**maniget** 'eggs' *(***g** *kept since strong)*
taqeq 'vein'	**taqegh-**	**taaqghet** 'veins'
(semi-final **e** *dropped and "hopped")*		
uyviineq 'sorceror'	**uyviinegh-**	**uyviinghet** 'sorcerors'
(semi-final **e** *dropped, but not "hopped" since required conditions are not met)*		
ighneq 'son'	**ighnegh-**	**ighneghet** 'sons'
(semi-final **e** *not dropped (and not "hopped") since dropping it would lead to a cluster of three consonants)*		
pagunghaq* 'crowberry'	**pagunghagh*-**	**pagunghaat** 'crowberries'
(strong **gh** *kept, giving* **pagunghaghet** *but* **gh** *then dropped due to uvular dropping and* **e** *changes to* **a***)*		

Concerning written translations, Yupik duals will be translated with an English plural form with a subscripted "2". Thus **uyghagek** will be translated: "rocks$_2$", and in translating an English plural, one can assume that unless there is a subscripted "2" or unless the English plural in question is dual by nature, e.g. "arms", "ears", that Yupik plural and not dual is meant.

Conventional duals:

A number of Yupik nouns, including **kiikw** in the vocabulary above, are customarily used in the dual even though only one entity is meant. Thus, **kiiwek** means 'a river' or 'the river'. This occurs mostly with things which have two equivalent sides, like a river does. This phenomenon occurs also in English where "pants", "eyeglasses" and "scissors" are never used in the singular. However, such *conventional duals* are more common Eskimo than in English and are probably more common in Yupik than in other Eskimo languages. The grammatical singular would be used if one were speaking about that sort of thing in general, like saying "the river is a flowing body of water most useful to mankind" meaning rivers in general by "the river" and not one particular river.

Exercise:

Form the plural of each of the words in the vocabulary above.

Chapter 3

Intransitive indicative; ablative-modalis

Vocabulary: nouns		verb bases	
aghveq	whale	aghula-	to dance
anigu	snow	aghulaqe-	to leave
aqavzik	salmonberry	alinge-	to be afraid
aqelqaq	visitor	aane-	to go out
esla	outdoors	aange-	to be big
iqalluk	fish	aqii-	to vacation
kayu	ocean fish	esghaate-	to see something
kufi	coffee	esleqe-	to be full
Laluramka^{e}	white person	gaagh-	to cook
meq	water	ifla-	to lose, to get lost
nanevgaq	old man	ingaghte-	to lie down
naayvaq	lake	inghu-	to pick berries
neghsaq	seal	itegh-	to go in
neqa^{e}	food	kaate-	to arrive
nuna	land	kuuve-	to spill
pagunghaq*	berry, crowberry	megh<e>-	to drink
sikik	squirrel	nagate-	to hear
Sivungaq*	Savoonga	negh<e>-	to eat
Sivuqaq*	Gambell; St. Lawrence Is.	nenglagh-	to laugh
ukaziq	hare, "rabbit"	pinigh-	to be good
ulghaaq	sea lion	qavagh-	to sleep
Ungaziq*	Chaplino (in Sib.)	qiighw-	to cough
uquq	fat, blubber	qiya-	to cry
vek, vegaaq	grass	tagi-	to come over
yavlu	sweetheart	taake-	to be long
yaywaali	orphan	tuqu-	to die

Endings:
ɾ+(g/t)uq, etc. *intransitive "indicative" verb endings*
~ɾ%meng *unpossessed singular "ablative-modalis" noun ending*

Discussion of grammatical topics:
Intransitive indicative:

There is no actual spoken form for Yupik verbs which is as convenient for a citation form as the unpossessed absolutive singular is for nouns. Consequently the abstract combining form itself, the base, will be used as the citation form for verbs. Verb bases end in precisely the same ways that noun bases do, in a full vowel, in **e**, in **te**, or in one of the fricatives, **gh**, **g**, **ghw** or **w**. It is not necessary to distinguish weak and strong final consonants for verbs.

~ɾ+(g/t)u- is the part of a verb endings which indicates *intransitive indicative*. *Intransitive* means that only information (*person* and *number*) concerning subject (and not object) is given by the verb ending. *Indicative* is the verb *mood* or family of endings used for making statements (as opposed to questions, commands, etc.). The transitivity/mood *indicator* or *marker*, **~ɾ+(g/t)u-**, is followed by a second part which indicates person and number. *Third person* is the group of endings concerned

with a person or thing other than the speaker, i.e. with "he", "she", "it", "they", "they$_2$". In Yupik there is no category of gender so that the same ending which indicates "he" also indicates "she" or "it". *First person* is the group of endings concerned with the speaker (and possibly others with him), i.e. with "I", "we$_2$", and "we$_{pl}$". *Second person* is the group of endings concerned with the person or persons spoken to, i.e. with "you", "you$_2$", and "you$_{pl}$".

The list below shows the person and number part of the intransitive indicative endings for all three persons and numbers.

q	'he, she, it'
k	'they$_2$'
t	'they$_{pl}$'
nga	'I'
kung	'we$_2$'
kut	'we$_{pl}$'
ten	'you$_1$'
tek	'you$_2$'
si	'you$_{pl}$'

Concerning attachment to verb bases, ~$_f$ indicates that *final* **e** is to be dropped, that is, **e** which comes right at the end of the base. + indicates that a base-final consonant is to be kept, while the **g** and **t** in parentheses are used only with certain types of bases. The **g** is used with bases that end in a double vowel, while the **t** is used with bases that end in a consonant. The two bases **negh⟨e⟩-** 'to eat', and **megh⟨e⟩-** 'to drink' act as if they are **negh-** and **megh-** with some endings and as if they are **neghe-**, and **meghe-** with other endings. With the endings presented here these two bases act as if the ⟨e⟩ were not there.

When the endings presented here are used with a base ending with a single full vowel, **a** or **i**, the resulting clusters **au** and **iu** will change to **aa** and **ii** respectively. This is because Yupik does not permit clusters of unlike vowels. An underlying cluster with **i** in it will become **ii** while an underlying cluster with **a** but no **i** will become **aa**. Thus underlying **ai**, **ia**, **ui**, and **iu** all become **ii**, and underlying **au** and **ua** become **aa**. (**uu** can only arise from underlying **uu**.) This phenomenon may be called *vowel dominance*.

Verb forms built with the endings presented here have a past-time meaning, except for *descriptive* (or *stative*) verbs which have a present-time meaning. For present-time meaning of action verbs (verbs other than descriptive verbs), see the postbase **~+(g)aqe-** in Chapter 5.

Examples:

verb base		*with ending*
tuqu-	'to die'	**tuquuq** 'he (or she or it) died'
tagi-	'to come'	**tagiiq** 'he came' *(from* **tagiuq** *by vowel dominance)*
qiya-	'to cry'	**qiyaaq** 'he cried' *(from* **qiyauq** *by vowel dominance)*
aqii-	'to vacation'	**aqiiguq** 'he vacationed' *(***g** *used*

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since base ends in two vowels)

aane- 'to go out' **aanuq** 'he went out' *(final* **e** *dropped)*

nenglagh- 'to laugh' **nenglaghtuq** 'he laughed' *(***t** *used since base ends in a consonant)*

pinigh- 'to be good' **pinightuq** 'he is good' *(present time since verb is descriptive)*

negh<e>- 'to eat' **neghtuq** 'he ate' *(the base takes the form* **negh-** *for these endings)*

Ablative-modalis:

Though one usually thinks of intransitive sentences in a language being those without an object (without a thing *verb*-ed), and only transitive sentences as having an object, in Yupik intransitive sentences can have an object of sorts but nothing about this object is indicated in the verb. An object of an intransitive verb is called an *indefinite object* (to distinguish it from a true grammatical object of a transitive verb).

A noun serving as an indefinite object is put in the *ablative-modalis* case. This case also serves to make phrases like English prepositional phrases starting with "from".

The unpossessed ablative-modalis singular ending is **~ɾ%meng**. It drops final **es** and weak final consonants, but keeps strong final consonants. If a final **e** is dropped and the required conditions are met, then **e**-*hopping* will occur (see Chapter 1).

Examples:

base	*with ending*
anigu- 'snow'	**anigumeng** 'snow (as indefinite object), from snow'
iye- 'eye'	**iiymeng** 'eye(s) (as indefinite object), from an eye' *(***e** *dropped and hopped)*
angyagh- 'boat'	**angyameng** 'boat(s) (as indefinite object), from a boat' *(weak final consonant dropped)*
nanugh-* 'polar bear'	**nanughmeng** 'polar bear(s) (as indefinite object), from a polar bear' *(strong final consonant kept)*
sikig- 'squirrel'	**sikigmeng** 'squirrel(s) (as indefinite object), from a squirrel' *(***g** *is strong)*

When used as an indefinite object, the singular ablative-modalis ending may indicate a plurality. For example, **neghtunga pagunghaghmeng** may mean 'I ate a berry' or 'I ate berries'. However in its other main use, the *place from which* use, a singular ablative-modalis ending indicates only singular. For example, **tagiinga naayvameng** means only 'I came from the lake'. To say 'from the lakes', the plural ablative modalis ending must be used. This ending is like the singular except for having **n** in place of **m** and not dropping final **e**. Thus, **naayvaneng** 'from the lakes', and **iyeneng** 'from the eyes'.

In latter chapters we shall see other uses of the ablative-modalis in addition to its *indefinite object* use and its *place*

from which use. It is used to give more information about a noun which has been verbalized by a postbase (*specification* use), *with verbs of giving* to tell what is given, and *with verbs of communication* to tell what is being spoken or asked about. These uses are all related to the indefinite object use.

Exercises:

Translate the following sentences into Yupik:

1) The white people drank coffee. 2) The old man heard angels. 3) The cooking pots$_2$ are full of water. 4) The river is long. 5) The children went out of the house. 6) The squirrels heard some mice. 7) The owl died. 8) The water spilled from the pot. 9) The rabbits are afraid of foxes. 10) The women are picking crowberries. 11) The orphans went in from outdoors. 12) The minister took a vacation. 13) The strangers arrived from Chaplino. 14) The knives got lost. 15) The men were dancing. 16) The white people left from SLI. 17) They$_2$ cooked sea lion. 18) I saw a den. 19) You coughed. 20) The days are long. 21) We$_2$ laughed. 22) The old men arrived from the mountain. 23) The dogs came over. 24) He heard angels. 25) The men saw polar bears.

Translate the following sentences into English: 1) Afsengaq neghtuq pagunghaghmeng. 2) Kaamgek iflaak. 3) Aqiigukung. 4) Uupameng esghaatut. 5) Ukaziq alinguq kaviighmeng. 6) Laluramka kaatuq Sivungaghmeng. 7) Aqelqat aghulaat. 8) Tafsi taakuq. 9) Neghtusi ulghaaghmeng. 10) Naayvameng tagiiq yaywaali. 11) Aghnak qiighwtuk. 12) Gaaghtut kayumeng. 13) Qikmit nagatut anipameng. 14) Qavaghtunga. 15) Taghnughhaat aanut mangteghameng.

Chapter 4

1st and 2nd person possessor possessed absolutive

Vocabulary:

aghnaghaq*	girl
aakw	blood
apa	grandfather
ata	father *(base is* ata-, *not* ate-*)*
eltughaq	grandchild
igatagh-, iyatagh-	to be hungry
iigga^{e}	hand
ighneq	son
mekestaaghhaq*	small thing
mekelghiiq	boy
naa	mother
nengyuq	grandmother
nuliiq	wife *(base can also be* nulighh-*)*
nuyaq	hair
panik	daughter
seghleq	bad thing
tagi-	to come
takestaaghhaq*	short thing
ugi	husband

postbases:

-ghllak	big *N*, lots of *N*
-ghrugllak	big *N*
-lek	one having *N*
~:(ng)u-	to be *N*

base-plus-postbase, and postbase-plus postbase combinations:

mekestaaghhaa-	to be small
takestaaghhaa-	to be short
seghleghu-	to be bad
-lgu-	to have *N*

endings:

first person singular-possessor absolutive noun endings:

~-ka	my *N*
~$_{sf}$%(e)nka	my *N*-s
~$_{sf}$%(e)gka	my *N*-s$_2$

second person singular-possessor absolutive noun endings:

~$_{sf}$%(e)n	your$_1$ *N*
~$_{f}$%ten	your$_1$ *N*-s
~$_{sf}$%(e)gken	your$_1$ *N*-s$_2$

Discussion of Postbases:

Postbases fit between base and ending. There may be more than one postbase in a word. Some postbases go on nouns and yield nouns (and are therefore said to be *noun-elaborating*), some go on nouns and yield verb bases (and are therefore said to be *verbalizing*), some go on verb bases and yield verb bases (*verb-elaborating*)and some go on verb bases and yield nouns (*nominalizing*). Noun-yielding (noun-elaborating and nominalizing) postbases are presented here with an unpossessed absolutive singular ending, but of course underlying this is an

abstract combining form or base form (see Chapter 2), while verb-yielding (verb-elaborating and verbalizing) postbases are presented in their base or combining form. When discussing postbases and endings, *N* means "noun" and *V* means "verb".

The postbase **-ghllak** (which has as its combining form **-ghllag-**) is noun-elaborating and means 'big *N*' or 'lots of *N*'. The minus sign, - indicates that this postbase drops all final consonants (strong as well as weak), while the absence of a tilde, ~, indicates that it keeps all **e**s (final and semi-final). This postbase will substitute the velar fricative, **g**, for the uvular fricative, **gh**, beginning the postbase if the base ends in a velar (which however is dropped). Likewise it will substitute a *rounded* fricative, **ghw** or **wh**, if the base ends in a rounded velar or uvular fricative. As we shall see in later chapters, this phenomenon of the dropped final consonant of a base influencing the initial segment of a postbase or ending is what always happens when a postbase or ending starts with a velar or uvular fricative or stop (i.e. with **gh**, **g**, **k**, **q**).

Examples:

noun	*base*	*with postbase*
nuna 'land'	**nuna-**	**nunaghllak** 'big land'
qulmesiin 'pot'	**qulmesiite-**	**qulmesiiteghllak** 'big pot'
		qulmesiiteghllaget 'big pots, lots of pots'
angyaq 'boat'	**angyagh-**	**angyaghllak** 'big boat'
sikik 'squirrel'	**sikig-**	**sikigllak** 'big squirrel'
(since base ends in **g**, *the* **gh** *of the postbase is replaced with* **g**)		
kiikw 'river'	**kiiw-**	**kiiwhllagek** 'big river'
(since the base ends in a rounded velar, the **gh** *of the postbase is replaced with a rounded velar; the dual ending for a single river is explained in chapter 2)*		

The above postbase can mean either 'big *N*' or 'lots of *N*' as the example in the plural, **qulmesiiteghllaget** shows. To limit the meaning to 'big *N*' only, another postbase **-ghrugllak** is used instead. These two postbases go on in exactly the same way.

Examples:

noun	*base*	*with postbase*
qulmesiin 'pot'	**qulmesiite-**	**qulmesiiteghrugllaget** 'big pots'
kiikw 'river'	**kiiw-**	**kiiwrugllaget** 'big rivers'

The noun-elaborating postbase **-lek** means 'one having *N*'. It is a simple consonant dropping postbase. Its combining or base form is **-leg-**.

Examples:

noun	*base*	*with postbase*
naa 'mother'	**naa-**	**naalek** 'one with a

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panik 'daughter' **panig-** **panilek** 'one with a mother' daughter'

More than one postbase can go on a word as in **qikmighrugllalget** 'ones having big dogs'.

The verbalizing postbase ~:**(ng)u-** means 'to be *N*'. The tilde, ~, indicates that it drops both final and semi-final **e**s from bases, with **e** hopping occuring when possible. The semicolon indicates that the uvular fricative **gh** will drop from between single vowels at the juncture of a base and this postbase. The **(ng)** is used only with bases ending in a vowel including a final **e** (before it is dropped). If the intransitive indicative ending is put on following this postbase, care must be taken to use the correct form of the ending (with or without **g**).

Examples:

noun	*base*	*with postbase*
ata 'father'	**ata-**	**atangu-** 'to be a father' *(as in* **atanguuq** 'he is a father'*)*
iya 'eye'	**iye-**	**iiyngu-** 'to be an eye' *(***ng** *is used because base ends in a vowel,* **e**, *though this* **e** *is then dropped and hopped)*
na 'place'	**ne-**	**nengu-** 'to be a place' *(dropping of* **e** *not possible since a cluster of two consonants is not prermitted at the beginning of a word, hence hopping doesn't occur either)*
iigga 'hand'	**iigge-**	**iiggngu-** 'to be a hand' *(***e** *is dropped but not hopped since the conditions for hopping are not met)*
gguta 'tooth'	**ggute-**	**gguutngu-** 'to be a tooth' *(as in* **gguutnguuq** 'it is a tooth'*)(***e** *is both dropped and hopped)*
kaviiq 'fox'	**kaviigh-**	**kaviighu-** 'to be a fox' *(***gh** *not dropped since it has two rather than one vowel in front of it)*
aghnaq 'woman'	**aghnagh-**	**aghnaghu-** --> **aghnau-** --> **aghnaa-** 'to be a woman' *(uvular dropping and vowel dominace occur here)(as in* **aghnaaguq** 'she is a woman'*)*
kamek 'skin boot'	**kameg-**	**kaamgu-** 'to be a boot' *(the semi-final* **e** *is dropped and hopped)*
ighneq 'son'	**ighneghu-**	'to be a son' *(the semi-final* **e** *cannot be dropped and hence is not hopped; uvular dropping does not occur because the vowel preceding the uvular is not a full vowel)*

The nouns **mekestaaghhaq** 'small thing', **takestaaghhaq** 'short thing', and **seghleq** 'bad thing', and the postbase **-lek** can be combined with the preceding postbases to make the following useful verb bases and verbalizing postbase:

mekestaaghhaa-	'to be small'
takestaaghhaa-	'to be short'
seghleghu-	'to be bad'
-lgu-	'to have *N*'

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Discussion of grammatical topics:
1st and 2nd person possessor possessed absolutive:

The endings introduced in this chapter are all absolutive and thus can be substituted for the absolutive singular citation forms of nouns. These endings are:

~-ka	'my (one) *N*'
~$_{sf}$%(e)nka	'my (three or more) *N*-s'
~$_{sf}$%(e)gka	'my *N*-s_2'
~$_{sf}$%(e)n	'your$_1$ *N*'
~$_{f}$%ten	'your$_1$ *N*-s'
~$_{sf}$%(e)gken	'your$_1$ *N*-s_2'

We have already discussed what each of the symbols used in these endings mean. Except for the first and the fifth endings on the list above, these endings attach just like the simple plural ending, **~$_{sf}$(e)t**, does (see Chapter 2). The fifth ending on the list, **~$_{f}$%ten**, attaches like the unpossessed ablative-modalis ending, **~$_{f}$%meng**, does (see Chapter 3). The first ending, **~-ka**, drops final and semi-final **e** when possible (and hops them when that is possible); otherwise it attaches like the postbase **-ghllak** does. That is, it drops all final consonants, but if the dropped final consonant is uvular, then this ending takes the form **qa** for that word, and if the dropped final consonant is rounded, then this ending takes the form **kwa** or **qwa**.

Examples:

noun	*base*	*with ending*
apa 'grandfather'	**apa-**	**apaka** 'my grandfather'
iya 'eye'	**iye-**	**iiska** 'my eye' *(here* **e** *hopping and dropping both occur, and* **y** *becomes voiceless as* **s** *next to the stop* **k**)
panik 'daughter'	**panig-**	**panika** 'my daughter'
ighneq 'son'	**ighnegh-**	**ighneqa** 'my son'
aakw 'blood'	**aaw-**	**aakwa** 'my blood'
qiiqw 'grey hair'	**qiighw-**	**qiiqwa** 'my grey hair'

Exercises:
translate the following from Yupik to English: 1) Iiska mekestaaghhaaguq. 2) Apalguunga. 3) Ataka angyaghllalguuq. 4) Naan qulmesiitelguuq. 5) Panigten aghnaghaghllaguut. 6) Ighneghenka gguteghllalguut. 7) Gguutka seghleghuuq. 8) Qiighwenka taakut. 9) Nengyuqa pinightuq. 10) Eltughanka qikmilguut. 11) Nuyaqa takestaaghhaaguq. 12) Aghnaghllaget tagiit mangteghameng. 13) Qulmesiitka eslequq meghmeng. 14) Yavlun pinightuq. 15) Nanevgaq qiighwllalguuq. 16) Laluramkek iyataghtuk. 17) Nunan anigulguuq. 18) Kaviighet riigteghllalguut. 19) Mekelghiighet neghtut neghsameng. 20) Nengyugka nagatuk qikmighllagmeng. 21) Aawhllaget kuuvut. 22) Yaywaali iiggeghllalguuq. 23) Qikmiiguq. 24) Ungaziq nunanguuq. 25) Kaamgegken taakuk. 26) Sikigllaget tagiit riigtemeng. 27) Ukaziq neghtuq vegmeng. 28) Aqelqat laluramkenguut. 29) Yugllak uginguuq. 30) Ighneghten aghulaqut naayvaghllagmeng.

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translate the following from English to Yupik: 1) My daughters cooked. 2) Your ears$_2$ are bad. 3) I ate big crowberries. 4) My dog has big ears. 5) The big wolves saw rabbits. 6) My wife is hungry. 7) Your son coughed. 8) The old man has a big house. 9) It is ice. 10) It is a needle. 11) They are rocks. 12) It is a big mountain. 13) The lake has fish. 14) My eyes$_2$ are small. 15) Your blood is bad. 16) My grandfathers$_2$ danced. 17) My mother slept. 18) Your grandchildren have lots of hair. 19) The big girls picked salmonberries. 20) The boys have mothers. 21) My boots$_2$ are bad. 22) Your parka is nice. 23) The mice went inside from outdoors. 24) The river is short. 25) My name is long. 26) The big fox ate owl. 27) My knives got lost. 28) The lake has lots of ice. 29) Your woman's-knives are small. 30) The white (Caucasian) woman minister has a big husband.

Chapter 5

Terminalis, localis, vialis and aequalis cases

Vocabulary:

aglagh-	to go home
aakaq*	older sister of a female
anengaq	older brother
elngaatall	very much *(particle)*
estugaq	store
igaghvik	school
itegaq	foot
mayugh-	to go up
naasquq	head
nayak	sister of a male
ngelqaq	cormorant; mainland Alaska Eskimo
nunivak	rosewort plant; tundra
papek	tail
puu	handle
qepghagh-	to work
suflugaq	gun
taaqe-	to finish, to quit
tepa^{e}	odor
tukuq	host
tuma^{e}	track, footprint, trail
ukig-	to go down
umughqaa-	to have sleep paralysis
unaami	tomorrow *(particle)*
uyughaq	younger sibling (sister or brother)
yughagh-	to pray
yughaghvik	church

postbases:

~+(g)aqe-	to be *V*-ing *(ongoing action)*; to regularly or repeatedly *V*
@+lleqe-	to *V* in the future; will *V*
@~$_{f}$+naqe-	to be going to *V*; to be about to *V*
@~$_{f}$+yug-	to want to *V*

endings:

~$_{f}$%mi	at *N*; in *N* *"localis" case*
~$_{f}$%mun	to *N* *"terminalis" case*
~$_{f}$%kun	through *N*, by means of *N* *"vialis" case*
~$_{f}$%tun	like *N*, in the language of *N* *"aequalis" case*

Discussion of postbases:

The verb-elaborating postbase **~+(g)aqe-** indicates present time ongoing action, in contrast to forms without any time-fixing postbase which indicate past action (except for *descriptive* verbs). The **(g)** is used with bases that end in two vowels.

Examples:

base	*with postbase and ending*
tagi- 'to come'	**tagiaquq** --> **tagiiquq** 'he is coming' *(in contrast to* **tagiiq** 'he came'
aqii- 'to vacation'	**aqiigaquq** 'he is vacationing' *(in contrast to* **aqiiguq** 'he vacationed')

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kuuve- 'to spill' **kuuvaquq** 'it is spilling' *(vs.* **kuuvuq** 'it spilled')
negh<e>- 'to eat' **neghaquq** 'he is eating' *(vs.* **neghtuq** 'he ate')
qavagh- 'to sleep' **qavaghaquq** 'he is sleeping' *(this is not a :, "uvular dropping", type postbase so the* **gh** *is not dropped*
itegh- 'to go in' **iitghaquq** 'he is going in' *(***e** *is dropped and hopped)*

The postbase **~+(g)aqe-** is also used to express regular or repeated action, so that, for example, **ataka manigmeng neghaquq** means 'my father eats eggs' as well as 'my father is eating eggs', in contrast to **ataka manigmeng neghtuq** which means 'my father ate eggs'. Note that in Yupik it is the unmarked verb form that generally implies past-time action, while a postbase such as the one in question is needed in order to indicate present-time (or repeated) action. See also the postbase **~:(ng)igate-** 'to not be *V*-ing, to never *V* in Chapter 24.

Repeated rather than ongoing action is implied when this postbase is used in conjunction with words and/or constructions expressing 'always' (see **quunpeng** in Chapter 11) and 'whenever' (see the *contemporative mood* in Chapter 14).

The postbases **@+lleqe-** and **@~ɾnaqe-** are verb-elaborating postbases used for future action with the second expressing a time of action more imminent than the first. The symbol **@** indicates that **te** on a verb base will be modified in some way. There are several patterns of modifaction. **@+lleqe-** merely drops all **te**s. It is the only postbase that starts with **ll** and is used with verb bases. **@~ɾnaqe-**, however, is one of a number of postbases that start with **n** which are used with verb bases. They all do the same thing to base-final **te**, that is, the **te** is dropped and if it had followed a vowel on the base, then the **n** of the postbase becomes voiceless, but if the **te** on the base had followed a consonant, the resulting cluster of consonant and **n** becomes voiceless as a whole.

Examples:

base	*with* **@+lleqe-** *and ending*	*with* **@~ɾnaqe-** *and ending*
tagi- 'to come'	**taqillequq** 'he will come'	**taginaquq** 'he's going to come'
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghellequq** 'he will eat'	**neghnaquq** 'he's going to eat'
kaate- 'to arrive'	**kaallequq** 'he will arrive'	**kaannaquq** 'he's going to arrive'
ingaghte- 'to lie down'	**ingaghllequq** 'he will lie down'	**ingaghhnaquq** 'he's going to lie down'
qavagh- 'to sleep'	**qavaghllequq** 'he will sleep'	**qavaghnaquq** 'he's going to sleep'

The verb-elaborating postbase **@~ɾyug-** meaning 'to want to *V*' essentially attaches just like **@~ɾnaqe-** (and other postbases that start with **y** do the same) however one must remember that

voiceless **y** is **s**. Thus, the **y** of this postbase becomes **s** after a stop and when the base ends in **te** (which, however, is dropped).

Examples:

base	*with postbase and ending*
aghula- 'to dance'	**aghulayugtuq** 'he wants to dance'
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghyugtuq** 'he wants to eat'
taaqe- 'to quit'	**taaqsugtuq** 'he wants to quit'
kaate- 'to arrive'	**kaasugtuq** 'he wants to arrive.
ingaghte- 'to lie down'	**ingaghsugtuq** 'he wants to lie down'
qavagh- 'to sleep'	**qavaghyugtuq** 'he wants to sleep'

Discussion of grammatical topics:

Localis, terminalis, vialis, and aequalis cases:

The endings of the singular unpossessed *localis* and *terminalis* cases are **~ɾmi** and **~ɾmun** respectively. They go on to noun bases just like the *ablative-modalis* does (see Chapter 3), and just as the ablative-modalis, in one of its uses, is used to indicate *place from which* an action occurs, so the *localis* can indicate *place at which* an action occurs and the *terminalis* can indicate *place to which* an action occurs. The plurals of all three of these cases have **n** in place of **m**.

Examples:

Tagiiq naayvameng. 'He came from the lake.'
Qavaghtuq naayvami. 'He slept at the lake.'
Aghulaquq naayvamun. 'He left to the lake.'

There are two further Yupik noun cases. One, the *vialis*, **~ɾ%kun**, indicates *place through which* an action occurs. When used with a base ending in strong **gh** the resulting cluster **ghk** becomes **ghq** because Yupik does not permit a cluster of a uvular and a velar.

Examples:

word	*base*	*with vialis ending*
nuna 'land'	**nuna-**	**nunakun** 'through the land'
naayvaq 'lake'	**naayvagh-**	**naayvakun** 'through the lake'
igaghvik 'school'	**igaghvig-**	**igaghvigkun** 'through the school'
vegaaq 'grass'	**vegaagh-**	**vegaaghqun** 'through the grass' *(from* **vegaaghkun** *where strong* **gh** *has been retained)*

The plural vialis is **~ɹɾ%:(e)tgun**.

Examples:

word	*with plural vialis ending*
nuna 'land'	**nunatgun** 'through the lands'
naayvaq 'lake'	**naayvatgun** 'through the lakes'
igaghvik 'school'	**igaghvigetgun** 'through the schools'
vegaaq 'grass'	**vegaaghetgun** 'through the grasses'
pagunghaq% 'berry'	**pagunghaghetgun** ---> **pagunghaatgun** 'through the berries'

Just as the ablative-modalis case has *non-orientational* uses

such as the *indefinite object* use in addition to its *orientational* use of indicating "place from which", so too the localis, terminalis and vialis have non-orientational uses in addition to their orientational uses of indicating "place at which", "place to which" and "place through which. Some of these non-orientational uses will be discussed in later chapters. The vialis case, however, has one very basic non-orientational use, to indicate *instrument* as in **tagiiq angyakun** 'he came by boat' or **qepghaghtuq savigkun** 'he worked with a knife'.

The ablative-modalis, localis, terminalis, and vialis correspond roughly to English prepositions. There is one other Yupik case that corresponds to an English preposition and this is the *aequalis* case, **~ɾ%tun** for the singular, **~ₛɾ:%(e)stun** for the plural. It has only a non-orientational use, to make a *comparison*, as in **neghtuq qikmitun** 'he ate like a dog'. It is also used for indicating what language is being spoken as in **Yupigestun** 'in the Yupik language' (literally: 'like a Yupik').

Exercises:
Translate into English:
1) Tukuqa neghsameng gaaghaquq. 2) Apan naayghamun mayughyugtuq. 3) Unaami aghulaqsugtunga naayvamun. 4) Kufi kuuvellequq qulmesiitmeng. 5) Aanenaqukung eslamun. 6) Aghnaghaat yughaghvigmeng tagiiqut. 7) Yuget elngaatall aqavzigmeng inghuyugtut nunivagmi. 8) Nayaka qepghaghllequq igaghvigmi. 9) Aakan umughqaagaquq. 10) Kaannaqut ighneghten. 11) Ingaghsugtunga. 12) Ngelqameng neghellequnga unaami. 13) Tumenka takestaaghhaagut. 14) Ukigaquq yavluka naayghaghmeng. 15) Estugaq Sivuqaghmi mekestaaghhaaguq. 16) Qikmigka papegllalguuk.

Translate into Yupik:
1) My older brother wants to have grey hair. 2) Your older sisters are working in the store. 3) My mother is about to arrive from church. 4) My daughters want to go home. 5) Your cough will be very bad. 6) My pot has a big handle. 7) Your mother wants to eat rosewort. 8) The man with big feet is a preacher. 9) My younger siblings want to have guns. 10) Your host is going down down to the water from the school. 11) You₂ will be very hungry tomorrow. 12) You will see footprints outside. 13) I left. 14) I am dancing. 15) My grandchildren have big hands.

Chapter 6

3rd person possessor possessed absolutive, and unpossessed relative nouns

Vocabulary:

aghnalqwaaq	old lady
akuutaq	mixture of berries, seal oil, sugar etc.
akuzi-	to speak
alangquq	ring finger
apeghtughista	teacher
asak	paternal aunt
atugh-	to use
ighaleqetaaq	star
igleghte-	to travel
ila	relative, associate, part, one or some (of)
kaki-	to sew
Karaka^{e}	Koryak; American Indian
lalala	dew
manik	bird's egg
mesuuna	hairbrush, comb
mesuuna-	to brush or comb one's hair
nuluq	tea bag
nulugh-	to dunk a tea bag; to ice-fish
paya^{e}	mouth *(non-anatomical)*
penguq	hill
qaguq	forehead
qaya^{e}	surface, top
qayuq	tea, broth
siqineq	sun
siivanlleq	elder
tanqiq	moon
teghikusaq	animal
tengkayuk *or* tengegkayuk	airplane
ungipaghaq	story
ungipaghagh-	to tell a story
uyaquq	neck
walguyaak	snowshoe
Yupigestun	in the Yupik language *(inflected form)*

Endings:

~$_{f}$:(ng)a	his (*or* her *or* its) *N*
~$_{f}$:(ng)at	their *N*
~$_{f}$:(ng)i	his *N*-s
~$_{f}$:(ng)it	their *N*-s
~$_{f}$%kek	his *N*-s$_{2}$
~%(e)m	*N*-'s; of *N* *"relative case"*
~%(e)t	*N*-s'; of *N*-s *"relative case, plural"*

Discussion of grammatical topics:

3rd person possessor possessed absolutive:

The first five endings given here are possessed absolutive endings. The first four of them all go on to nouns in the same way. They drop final and semi-final **e**, use **(ng)** only with vowel ending bases and subject juncture consonants to uvular dropping. With **e** dropping comes hopping where possible, and with uvular

dropping comes *vowel dominance* (see Chapter 5) where necessary. In addition when the underlying cluster consists of **u** and **i** or **u** and **a** and the **u** occurs next to a velar or uvular stop, fricative, or nasal, the result is that that velar or uvular will become *rounded* (with some exceptions mentioned below).

Examples:

noun	*base*	*with ending ~ʂɪ:(ng)a*
ata 'father'	**ata-**	**atanga** 'his father'
gguta 'tooth'	**ggute-**	**gguutnga** 'his tooth' *(final* **e** *dropped and hopped)*
yughaghta 'minister'	**yughaghte-**	**yughaghtenga** 'his minister' *(final* **e** *not dropped since this would create a cluster of three consonants)*
ateq 'name'	**ategh-**	**aatgha** 'his name' *(semi-final* **e** *dropped and hopped)*
ulaaq 'woman's knife'	**ulaagh-**	**ulaagha** 'his knife'
savik 'knife'	**savig-**	**saviga** 'his knife'
aakw 'blood'	**aaw-**	**aawa** 'his blood'
qiiqw 'grey hair'	**qiighw-**	**qiighwa** 'his grey hair' *(in this and the three preceding examples, the juncture consonant does not drop because it is either preceded by more than one vowel or is not a uvular)*
angyaq 'boat'	**angyagh-**	**angyagha --> angyaa** 'his boat' *(by uvular dropping)*
qikmiq 'dog'	**qikmigh-**	**qikmigha --> qikmia --> qikmii** 'his dog' *(by uvular dropping and vowel dominance)*
nengyuq 'grandma'	**nengyugh-**	**nengyugha --> nengyua --> nengyaa** 'his grandma' *(by uvular dropping and vowel dominance)*
penguq 'hill'	**pengugh-**	**pengugha --> pengua --> pengwaa** 'his hill' *(by uvular dropping, vowel dominance, and velar/uvular rounding)*
sikuq 'needle'	**sikugh-**	**sikugha --> sikua --> sikwaa** 'his needle' *(by uvular dropping, vowel dominance, and velar/uvular rounding)*

Velar/uvular rounding will not occur if the velar or uvular in question has **u** on the other side of it. For example, from **tukuq** host comes **tukaa** 'his host' and not ***tukwaa** (the asterisk before a word indicates a form not actually spoken), and from **uquq** 'seal oil' comes **uqaa** 'its seal oil' and not ***uqwaa**. This is the reason that one gets **aghnaaguq** 'she is a woman' and not ***aghnaawuq** even though the underlying form is **aghnauguq** (from **aghnagh-** plus the postbase **~:(ng)u-**).

Most rounded uvulars and velars in Yupik arise from rounding due to vowel dominance. Sometimes this is a productive or active process as in the examples above and other times it is a historic process. For example the rounded **k**, **kw** in **aakw** 'blood' has come

about because at one time the word was ***auk** as it still is in other Eskimo languages. However, within today's Yupik one cannot "see" underlying **auk** becoming **aakw** as one can "see" underlying **sikugha** becoming **sikwaa** by analysis as we have done above. In today's Yupik velar/uvular rounding does not apply in certain endings. For example, underlying **qiyauk** becomes **qiyaak** 'they$_2$ were crying' rather than ***qiyaakw**, and underlying **tagiunga** becomes **tagiinga** 'I came' rather than ***tagiingwa**.

There are a number of body part words ending in **quq**. When the ending **~:(ng)a** or one of the others in this group is attached to such a body part word, the results are somewhat different than the above discussion indicates. There are two patterns: one for when **quq** is preceded by a consonant other than **ng** (usually an **s**) and another for when **quq** is preceded by a vowel or by **ng**. The second can even cause one of the very rare three-consonant clusters in the language.

Examples:

word	*with ending for "his one thing"*
naasquq 'head'	**naasqwa** 'his head'
uyaquq 'neck'	**uyaqghwa** 'his neck'
alangquq 'ring finger'	**alangqghwa** 'his ring finger'

The ending for one person's two things, **~$_1$%kek**, goes on to noun bases in the same manner as the ablative-modalis ending **~$_1$%meng** does.

Examples:

word	*base*	*with ending*
iya 'eye'	**iye-**	**iiskek** 'his eyes$_2$'
siguta 'ear'	**sigute-**	**sigutkek** 'his ears$_2$'
anengaq 'older brother'	**anengagh-**	**anengakek** 'his brothers$_2$'
asak 'paternal aunt'	**asag-**	**asagkek** 'his aunts$_2$'
aakaq 'older sister'	**aakagh-***	**aakaghqek** 'his sisters$_2$'

The 3rd person possessor possessed absolutive endings introduced above (plus others) can be arrayed as in the paradigm below, where **savik** 'knife', is used as a representative noun.

saviga **savig/a/-/** 'his knife'	**savigkek** **savig/ke/k/-/** 'his knives$_2$'	**savigi** **savig/i/-/** 'his knives$_{pl}$'
savigak **savig/a/k/** 'their$_2$ knife'	**savigegkek** **savig/e/g/ke/k/** 'their$_2$ knives$_2$'	**savigik** **savig/i/k/** 'their$_2$ knives$_{pl}$'
savigat **savig/a/t/** 'their$_{pl}$ knife'	**savigegket** **savig/e/g/ke/t/** 'their$_{pl}$ knives$_2$'	**savigit** **savig/i/t/** 'their$_{pl}$ knives$_{pl}$'

By examining the paradigm above one can see that these endings consist of two parts. First after the base is an

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indicator of the number of things possessed, with **a** indicating singular, one thing possessed, **k** or **g** indicating dual, two things possessed, and **t** indicating plural, three or more things possessed. Then comes an indicator of the number of the possessor, with - (the absence of any letter) indicating singular possessor, **k** indicating dual possessor, and **t** indicating plural possessor. Between base and ending and between the two elements of the ending there is sometimes a non-indicating separator, written in light print on the chart above. Other sets of Yupik endings can be similarly analyzed.

Unpossessed relative:

The singular unpossessed *relative* case ending **~%:(e)m** goes onto noun bases in exactly the same manner as the absolutive plural ending **~%:(e)t** (see Chapter 2). One of the two uses of the relative case is to indicate the possessor of a noun with a third person possessed ending like those endings presented above. The other use will come up in the next chapter. The unpossessed relative plural ending is **~%:(e)t**, exactly the same as the unpossessed absolutive plural, and the unpossessed relative dual is the same as the unpossessed absolutive dual. A possessor, in the relative case, must agree in number with the possessor component of the possessed noun. For example one can say **aghnam ulaagha** 'the woman's knife', **aghnam ulaaghi** 'the woman's knives', **aghnat ulaaghat** 'the women's knife', and **aghnat ulaaghit** 'the women's knives', but not ***aghnam ulaaghit** because the first word here implies one woman as possessor, but the second word implies three or more women possessing the knives.

In English, possession is shown by the appostrophe plus "s" construction (e.g. "the boy's mother", "the dog's tail") or by a prepositional phrase with the word "of" (e.g. "the mother of the boy", "the mouth of the river"). In Yupik there is a single possessive construction so that **mekelghiighem naanga** can be translated both as 'the boy's mother' and as 'the mother of the boy'. In some cases in English one of these constructions sounds more natural than the other (e.g. "the dog's tail" rather than "the tail of the dog", but "the mouth of the river" rather than "the river's mouth"). Furthermore, in one kind of situation the "of" form is obligatory. One can only say "one of the boys", "some of the boys" and "part of the food", and not "the boys' one", "the boys' some" or "the food's part". The Yupik word **ila**, in addition to meaning 'relative' or 'associate' as in **ilanka** 'my relatives', also means 'one of, some of, or part of the grammatical possessor'.

Examples:

mekelghiighet ilangat 'one of the boys' *(***mekelghiighet** *is the possessor in the relative plural;* **ilangat** *has a plural to singular ending; compare* **mekelghiighet naangat** 'the mother of the boys')

mekelghiighet ilangit 'some of the boys' *(compare* **mekelghiighet naangit** 'the mothers of the boys')

neqem ilanga 'part of the food' *(sing. to sing. ending)*

Exercises:
Translate the following into English: 1) Qikmiqa neghaquq anipameng. 2) Aghnaghllagem ighneghi neghellequt akuutameng aqavzilegmeng. 3) Yugem qikmii siguteghllalguut. 4) Atughnaqunga suflugameng. 5) Apeghtughistem nulaa iflaaq. 6) Aqelqat igleghtaqut Sivuqaghmeng Sivungaghmun. 7) Siivanlleghet nulughaqut naayvami. 8) Esghaataqukut ighaleqetaaghmeng. 9) Mekelghiighem nengyaa kakiiquq. 10) Yughaghtet taghnughhiit aghulayugtut. 11) Teghikusat aanaqut riigteghllagmeng. 12) Laluramka akuziiquq Yupigestun. 13) Panigegka mesuunanaquk. 14) Apanga qayumeng meghaquq. 15) Ighneghten manigmeng neghtut. 16) Aatghit taakut. 17) Yugem yavlunga qepghaghllequq unaami. 18) Esghaatunga lalalameng vegaaghmi. 19) Mekelghiighet naangat mangteghami qavaghaquq. 20) Sikughllagmeng atughnaqunga. 21) Tengegkayuk kaannaquq Sivuqaghmeng. 22) Naayvam sikunga seghleghuuq. 23) Karaket aglaghaqut. 24) Yugem walguyaagkek iflaak. 25) Apeghtughistet nuliighit pagunghaghmeng inghwaaqut.

Translate the following into Yupik: 1) The elders will tell a story. 2) The Indians are using snowshoes. 3) The dog's tail is long. 4) The big dogs' tails are short. 5) His wife is going to sew parkas. 6) Their needles are short. 7) Their airplane will arrive tomorrow. 8) The boy's mother is cooking walrus. 9) The man's daughters will pray. 10) The teacher's house is small. 11) The orphans heard a story. 13) The girl's eyes are big. 14) The strangers are about to arrive from Chaplino. 15) The one with big feet is a dog. 16) The white man's grandchildren are traveling. 17) The woman's son has big ears. 18) The Indians' land has salmonberries. 19) The teacher's daughter is going on a vacation. 20) The preacher's wife will eat seal. 21) The foxes are going to come out from the den. 22) The man's sons came down from the mountain. 23) The pot's handle is long. 24) We2 will have sleep paralysis. 25) The big woman's husband is sleeping. 26) The land's hills have lots of crowberries. 27) The river's ice is bad. 28) The girl's needle got lost. 29) The old man's ring finger is long. 30) The old lady's neck is short. 31) The big child's head is small. 32) The woman's forehead is big.

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Chapter 7

Transitive indicative verbs; possessed relative and other cases

Vocabulary:

amik	door
atuqe-	to wear *(takes transitive endings only)*
avek	half
aveg-	to divide in two
efluga^{e}, eflugaq	floor
eglluk	stove
esghagh-	to see *(takes transitive endings)*
guute-	to shoot
igamsiqa-	*("emotional" root)*
igamsiqanagh-	to make one thankful *(intrans. endings)*
igamsiqayug-	to feel thankful *(takes intrans. endings)*
igamsiqayugvike-	to feel thankful toward *(trans. endings)*
ighivgaq	yesterday *(particle)*
kemekrak	meat
laalighte-	to visit
liite-	to learn
lli-	to put *(takes transitive endings)*
nalluke-	to not know
piniqe-	to like *(takes transitive endings)*
qelpeghte-	to open
qergesa^{e}	window *(may be used in dual for a single window)*
qilug-	to bark (at)
tipelek, tiipelek	table *(this is a dual)*
tugu-	to take, to pick up *(transitive endings)*
umeg-	to close

Postbases:

+a^{e}	*used to make English words into Yupik words*
-ghhalek	how *V*! *(exclamation)*
@-nghite-	to not *V*
-ngllagh-	to make *N*
-squq, -squghhaq*	little *N*; small *N*

Endings:

Selected transitive indicative verb endings (described in the text below)

Possessed relative case endings:

~$_{f}$%ma	my *N*, my *N*-s
-gpek	your *N*, your *N*-s
~$_{sf}$:(ng)an	his *N*
~$_{sf}$:(ng)in	his *N*-s
~$_{sf}$:(ng)ata	their *N*
~$_{sf}$:(ng)ita	their *N*-s

Selected possessed "oblique" case endings

Discussion of postbases:

If one wishes to use an English word in a Yupik sentence and that English word has not already become part of the language in the way that for example **efluga^{e}, eflugaq** has, then the English

word can be termporarily borrowed into Yupik so to speak by following it with **+a**^{e}. Thus the English word "computer" becomes the Yupik word **computer-a** with plural **computer-et**, and with derived forms such as **computer-nguuq** 'it is a computer'. The use of the hyphen is to insure that the English part will be recognized as from English and pronounced as in English. While that is hardly a problem in the example of **computer-a**, it would be more of a problem if the English word had only letters and sequences of letters that might also occur in a Yupik word as in **night-et** 'nights' which might be almost unrecognizable if spelled **nightet**.

-ghhalek is used to make exclamations from certain bases, in particular **igamsiqanagh-** 'to cause one to be thankful' and **seghleq** 'bad thing' (as well as a few others). The results are **igamsiqanaghhalek** 'thank you', and **seghleghhalek** which paradoxically means 'how good (it is)', rather than 'how bad' as one might expect.

@-nghite- is a verb-elaborating postbase meaning 'to not *V*', with a past-time implication for *action* verbs, where positive forms unmarked with time-fixing postbases also have a past-time implication) and a present-time implication of *descriptive* verbs. For negation with a present-time implication for action verbs, see the postbase **~:(ng)igate-** in Chapter 14. This postbase affects **te** in the way that **n**-initial postbases that go on verbs generally do, with the added feature that when there is a **te** on the base and the **n** of the postbase becomes voiceless then an **e** is inserted between the voiceless **n** and the **gh**.

Examples:

base	*with postbase and ending*
qiya- 'to cry'	**qiyanghituq** 'he didn't cry' (*action verb; compare* **qiyaaq** 'he cried')
aange- 'to be big'	**aangenghituq** 'it is not big' (*descriptive verb; compare* **aanguq** 'it is big')
kuuve- 'to spill'	**kuuvenghituq** 'it didn't spill'
kaate- 'to arrive'	**kaanneghituq** 'he didn't arrive'
laalighte- 'to visit'	**laalighhneghituq** 'he didn't visit'
(note that the entire cluster, **ghhn**, *is voiceless)*	
qavagh- 'to sleep'	**qavanghituq** 'he didn't sleep'

The verbalizing postbase **-ngllagh-** means 'to make *N*'. For example, from **mangteghaq** comes **mangteghanglaghtuq** 'he made a house'. Of course there can be postbases on either side of the one in question, so that one can get words like **mangteghaghrugllangllaghyunghitunga** 'I didn't want to make a big house'.

The noun-elaborating postbase **-squq** or **-squghhaq*** means 'small *N*'. For example, from **angyaq** comes **angyasquq** or **angyasqughhaq** 'small boat', and longer words like **angyasqughhalgunghitukung** 'we$_2$ didn't have a small boat'.

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Discussion of grammatical topics:
Transitive indicative:

A *transitive* verb gives information (*person* and *number*) concerning both *subject* (the one doing the action) and *object* (the one being acted upon). As we saw in Chapter 3 even an intransitive verb can have an object of sorts but it will be an *indefinite* object and is not tied in to the ending of the verb (and will be put in the ablative-modalis case). The difference between transitive verb with an object and intransitive verb with an indefinite object is like the difference between the definite article "the" and the indefinite article "a" in English, that is the difference in the two types of Yupik constructions is like the difference between the English sentences "the dog ate the fish" and "the dog ate a fish". These sentences will be presented in Yupik below.

The following person/number markers of endings all are used with the *transitive marker*, **~+a-**, preceding them in the same way that the person/number markers, **q**, **t**, **k**, **nga**, etc. of intransitive endings are used with the *intransitive marker*, **~ɣ+(g/t)u-**, preceding them.

a	'he (she *or* it) to him (her *or* it)'
i	'he to them'
at	'they to him'
it	'they to them'
qa	'I to him'
nka	'I to them'
anga	'he to me'
aten	'he to you'
mken	'I to you'
ghpenga	'you to me'

If a cluster of three vowels develops in the course of attaching one of these endings to a base, then the middle vowel is dropped. If there is a cluster of two unlike vowels then vowel dominance and possible velar/uvular rounding occurs.

There are other transitive indicative endings for situations involving third person dual, situations involving first person dual or dual, or involving second person dual or plural.

Examples:

base	*with transitive ending*
inghu- 'to pick'	**inghuai** --> **inghui** --> **inghwii** 'he picked them' *(the* **a** *is dropped to prevent a cluster of three vowels, then vowel dominance and velar/uvular rounding occur)*
kuuve- 'to spill'	**kuuvaqa** 'I spilled it'
tuqute- 'to kill'	**tuqutai** --> **tuqutii** 'he killed them'
eshghagh- 'to see'	**esghaghaa** 'he saw it'
umeg- 'to close'	**uumgaa** 'he closed it' *(***e** *hopping and dropping occur here)*

The subject of a transitive verb is in the relative case and the object of a transitive verb is in the absolutive case.

This is the second use we've seen for both of these cases, the other use of the relative being for a possessor and the other use of the absolutive being for the subject of an intransitive verb. A language such as Yupik (or other Eskimo language) where the case for the subject of an intransitive verb becomes the case for the object of a transitive verb is said to be *ergative*.

The following examples show case assignments for transitive and intransitive verbs and the difference in meanings:

intransitive verb with absolutive subject and ablative-modalis indefinite object:

Qikmiq neghtuq kayumeng. 'The dog ate a fish.'

transitive verb with relative subject and absolutive object:

Qikmim neghaa kayu. 'The dog ate the fish.'

Possessed relative:

In addition to the unpossessed relative case ending **~ₛf%:(e)m** and its plural and dual (see Chapter 6), There are possessed relative case endings, **~f%ma** 'my *N* or *N*-s', **-gpek** 'your *N* or *N*-s', **~ₛf:(ng)an** 'his *N*', **~ₛf:(ng)in** 'his *N*-s', **~ₛf:(ng)ata** 'their *N*', **~f:(ng)ita** 'their *N*-s'. These work as possessors or as subjects of transitive verbs. For example:

possessed relative as a possessor:

. . . **qikmima paapga** . . . '. . . my dog's tail . . .'

possessed relative as the subject of a transitive verb:

Qikmima neghaa kayu. 'My dog ate the fish.'

string of possessors (each agrees in number with those next to it):

. . . **aakaghma ighneghin qikmiita naangat** '. . . my sister's sons' dogs' mother . . . '

Comparison of verb and noun endings

The 3rd person object transitive verb endings discussed in this chapter and the possessed absolutive noun endings (see Chapter 5) are essentially identical as the charts below show.

nouns		*verbs*	
one to one **angyaa** 'his boat'	*one to three+* **angyii** 'his boats'	*one to one* **esghaghaa** 'he saw it'	*one to three+* **esghaghii** 'he saw them'
three+ to one **angyaat** 'their boat'	*three+ to three+* **angyiit** 'their boats'	*three+ to one* **esghaghaat** 'they saw him'	*three+ to three+* **esghaghiit** 'they saw them'
one to one **angyaqa** 'my boat'	*one to three+* **angyanka** 'my boats'	*one to one* **esghaghaqa** 'I saw it'	*one to three+* **esghaghanka** 'I saw them'

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Other transitive verb endings appear to be composed of truncated possessed relative case noun endings discussed in this chapter and intransitive verb endings (see Chapter 3). For example, **esghaghamken** 'I saw you' has **m** in the ending like the possessed relative case ending **ma** in **angyama** 'my boat *(as subject of transitive verb)*, of my boat', and **ken** in it like the **ten** (but with **k** in place of **t**) in the intransitive verb **neghtuten** 'you ate'. Likewise, **esghaghaghpenga** 'you saw me' has **pe** in the ending like the possessed relative case ending **pek** in **angyaghpek** 'your boat *(as subject of transitive verb)*, of your boat', and **nga** in it like the **nga** in the intransitive verb **neghtunga** 'I ate'. It is reasonable that there should be a link between the subject marker of a transitive verb ending and the case, relative, used for subjects of transitive verbs. It is equally reasonable that there should be a link between the object marker of a transitive verb ending and the subject marker of an intransitive verb ending, because objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs are indicated by nouns in the same case, the absolutive.

As other noun case and verb mood endings are discussed in this book, one should observe how they are generally similar to other sets of endings or composed of pieces which are similar to other sets of endings.

Possessed ablative-modalis, localis, etc.:

The absolutive and relative cases are closely tied to the verb (must agree with the verb ending) and are called the *syntactic cases*. The ablative-modalis, localis, terminalis, vialis, and aequalis are not tied to the verb in the same way. These cases which correspond to English prepositions are called the *oblique* cases. Like the syntactic cases, the oblique cases can indicate possessor. The possessive component of the oblique case endings is like the possessed absolutive (for 3rd person possessor) or a truncated version of possessed relative (for other possessors).

Examples:

with 3rd person singular possessor: **angyaaneng, angyaani, angyaanun, angyaakun, angyaatun** 'from his boat, in his boat, to his boat, with his boat, like his boat'

with 1st person singular possessor: **angyamneng, angyamni, angyamnun, angyamkun, angyamtun** 'from my boat, in my boat, to my boat, with my boat, like my boat'

with 2nd person singular possessor: **angyaghpeneng, angyaghpeni, angyaghpenun, angyaghpekun, angyaghpetun** 'from your boat, in your boat, to your boat, with your boat, like your boat'

Exercises:

Translate the following into Yupik: 1) Gaaghyugaqa ayveghem kemekraga. 2) Pagunghaat aavgii. 3) Neghsaq guunnaqaqa. 4)

Qikmima paapga takestaaghhaaguq. 5) Qikmima apeghtughisteka qilugaqaa. 6) Yughaghtem nuliighan anengaa aghulaqsugtuq Sivuqaghmeng. 7) Qulmesiin lliiqa egllugmun. 8) Apeghtughistegpek liilleqii taghnughhaat aatghit. 9) Qergesa qelpeghtaqa. 10) Amik uumgaa. 11) Esghaghlleqamken 12) Aghnalqwaaghem tugaa nanevgam suflugaa eflugameng. 13) Laalighhnaqaqa apaka. 14) Naagpek sikwaan iiynga mekestaaghhaaguq. 15) Ighivgaq asagma ighneghan atuqaa angyasqughhaan. 16) Nallukaqa panigpek ugingan aatgha. 17) Tipelegnun llinaqaqa taghnughhaghma nanga. 18) Igamsiqayugvikamken. 19) Tengegkayuge kaanneghitut. 20) Ngelqam kamekraga neghenghitaqa. 21) Mangteghaghllangllaghyugtukut.

Translate the following into Yupik: 1) My brother's dog's tail is long. 2) Your sisters' husbands don't know my name. 3) My grandmother didn't visit me. 4) I am going to open the window. 5) Your daughter will close the windows of my home. 6) I put the knife on the floor. 7) I will take the coffee from the table. 8) My son opened the door. 9) My mother divided the seal's meat in two. 10) Your son didn't learn my daughter's name. 11) I will use your little boat. 12) I want to make a big house. 13) I don't want to eat the eggs. 14) I am thankful to you. 15) The preacher didn't shoot the little rabbits with big ears. 16) The teacher opened the door of the school. 17) The old lady isn't using the river's ice. 18) The elders didn't lie down in the little house. 19) My father wanted to go home from Ungaziq. 20) The Koryaks are using the snowshoes. 21) The old man's dogs are barking at your children. 22) My sister's husband's younger siblings' big dog's teeth are small. 23) I'm going to make a small woman's-knife.

Parse (grammatically label) and translate the following:
particles should be labeled, "particle", nouns should be labeled for form or case: "absolutive, relative, ablative-modalis, localis, terminalis", and function (this applies only to absolutive and relative): "subject, object, possessor", verbs should be labeled: "transitive" or "intransitive"
1) Yugem paniga pagunghaghmeng neghtuq. 2) Yugem panigan neghii pagunghaat. 3) Elngaatall apeghtughistem uginga estugami qepghaghyugtuq. 4) Aqelqat igleghtaqut Sivuqaghmeng Sivungaghmun. 5) Aghnaq qiighwllalek eltughalgunghituq.

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Chapter 8

2nd person subject interrogatives; reflexive nouns

Vocabulary:

alleg-	to sweep *(trans. & intrans.)*
alquutaq	spoon
Ayuqliq	mainland Alaskan Eskimo
kayusigh-	to help
kina	who? *(relative case is* kitum*)*
kinkut	who? *(plural)*
liisimake-	to know *(trans. only)*
meghnugh-	to be tired
meqsug-	to be thirsty
naken	from where?
nani	(at) where?
naten	how?
navek	to where?
pi	thing
pi-	to do, to go, etc.
qafsina	how many?
qakun	when? *(future)*
qawaak	bird
qayughllak	because *(particle)*
Quyillek	Chukchi
qavaghni-	to be sleepy
qavngaq	when? *(past)*
sa	what?
sa-	to do what?
sangan	why? *(with respect to him)*
sangama	why? *(with respect to me)*
sangavek	why? *(with respect to you)*
tukfigh-	to buy *(trans. & intrans.)*

Postbases:

+(pete)fte-	to have evidently *V*-ed *(also used in conjunction with* qayughllak *)*
-liigh-	to cook or prepare *N*
+niigh-	to hunt for *N*, to search for *N*, to ask for *N*, to work with *N*
+te-	to catch *N*; to go to *N*
+tugh-	to eat *N*; to use *N*

Endings:

selected 2nd person subject "interrogative" endings

selected reflexive noun endings

Discussion of postbases:

The verb-elaborating postbase **+(pete)fte-** 'to evidently have *V*-ed' takes the form **+fte-** with vowel-ending bases and **+petefte-** with consonant-ending bases. This postbase is used on the verb of a "because. . . " clause, headed by the particle **qayughllak** 'because', when what the main clause says is the is the primary evidence for that which is indicated by the "because. . ." clause.

Examples:

Ingaghtuq qayughllak qavaghniftuq. 'He lay down because he was sleepy.'

Ingaghtunga qayughllak qavaghniinga. 'I lay down because I was sleepy.' *(speaker knows he is sleepy so the evidence of his being sleepy is not just the fact that he lay down and so the postbase in question is not needed)*

Neghyugtuq qayughllak iyataghpeteftuq 'He wants to eat because he is hungry.

The verbalizing postbase **-liigh-** means 'to prepare *N*', or 'to cook *N*' (especially in the case of food).

The verbalizing postbase **+niigh-** means 'to hunt *N*, to search for *N*, to ask for *N*, or to work with *N*' with the exact meaning depending on the noun with which the postbase is used and the context.

The verbalizing postbase **+te-** means 'to go to *N*' (in the case of places) or 'to catch *N*' (in the case of game animals and the like).

The verbalizing postbase **+tugh-** means 'to eat *N*' (in the case of food) or 'to use *N*'.

Examples of these postbases:

aghveghniightuq 'he hunted whale'
aghveghtuq 'he caught whale'
aghveliightuq 'he cooked whale'
aghveghtughtuq 'he ate whale'

Discussion of grammatical topics:

2nd person subject interrogatives:

The indicative mood verb endings examined previously (intransitive in Chapter 3, transitive in Chapter 7) are used for making statements. For asking questions another set of endings are used. These are the endings of the *interrogative mood.* There are both intransitive and transitive interrogative endings. The most common second person ("you") and first person ("I", "we") interrogative endings are presented here.

~ɾ(t)zin	*2nd person singular,* 'you' *intransitive*
~ɾ(t)zigu	'you to him' *transitive*
~ɾ(t)ziki	'you to them' *transitive*
~ɾ(t)zikek	'you to them$_2$' *transitive*
~ɾ(t)zinga	'you to me' *transitive*
~ɾ(t)zikung	'you to us$_2$' *transitive*
~ɾ(t)zikut	'you to us' *transitive*
~sɾ(e)stek	*2nd person dual,* 'you$_2$' *intransitive*
~sɾ(e)tsi	*2nd person plural,* 'you$_{pl}$' *intransitive*
~sɾ(e)stung	*1st person dual,* 'we$_2$' *intransitive*
~sɾ(e)sta	*1st person plural,* 'we$_{pl}$' *intransitive*

The parenthesized **t** and the parenthesized **e** of these endings are used with consonant ending bases. When this ending leads to the cluster **tz** (whether the **t** here is the parenthesized **t** of the ending or a **t** from the verb base), then that **tz** becomes **s**. Thus the endings will often take the form **sin**, **sigu**, **siki**, etc.

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When used without any further question words (and on a base other than a question base such as **sa-**) the interrogative mood will give a "yes or no" type question. Yupik is like Inupiaq in this respect and unlike Central Yupik which uses the indicative with a certain added particle for "yes or no" questions.

Examples:

base	*with interrogative ending*
qiya-	**qiyazin?** 'did you$_1$ cry?'
	qiyastek? 'did you$_2$ cry?'
	qiyatsi? 'did you$_{pl}$ cry?'
qiyaaqe-	**qiyaaqsin?** 'are you crying?'
	qiyaqestek? 'are you$_2$ crying?'
	qiyaqetsi? 'are you$_{pl}$ crying?'
negh<e>-	**neghzin?** 'did you$_1$ eat?'
(this base is treated as **neghe-** *for these endings)*	
	neghestek? 'did you$_2$ eat?'
	neghetsi? 'did you$_{pl}$ eat?'
kaate-	**kaasin?** 'did you$_1$ arrive?'
	kaatestek? 'did you$_2$ arrive?'
	kaatetsi? 'did you$_{pl}$ arrive?'
liite-	**liisin?** 'did you$_1$ learn?'
	liitestek? 'did you$_2$ learn?'
	liitetsi? 'did you$_{pl}$ learn?'
qavagh-	**qavaghsin?** 'did you$_1$ sleep?'
	qavaghestek? 'did you$_2$ sleep?'
	qavaghetsi? 'did you$_{pl}$ sleep?'
itegh-	**iteghsin?** 'did you$_1$ come in?
	iitghestek? 'did you$_2$ come in?'
	iitghetsi? 'did you$_{pl}$ come in?'

In one word sentences (as in the examples above) it is common to lengthen the prime vowel of the ending, giving, for example **Qiyaziin?** rather than **Qiyazin?** for 'Did you cry?'

Interrogative words:

To form a question other than the "yes or no" type, one must use the interrogative mood on the verb and a question word or base (that is, a Yupik word corresponding to English words such as "who", "why", "when", "what", "where", "how"). The interrogative word is usually the first word of the sentence.

Some Yupik question words which are adverbial in nature do not *inflect* (i.e. do not change their endings), for example **qavngaq** 'when (past)', **qakun** 'when (future)', and **naten** 'how'.

Examples:

Qavngaq kaasin? 'When did you arrive?
Qakun aghulaqsin? 'When will you leave?'
Naten pizin? 'How did you do it?'

The words **nani** '(at) where', **naken** '(from) where', and **navek** '(to) where' are actually already inflected being in the localis, ablative-modalis and terminalis cases respectively.

Examples:

Nani qavaghlleqsin? 'Where will you sleep?'
Naken tagizin? 'Where did you come from?'
Navek aghulaqnaqsin? 'where are you going to go?'

The word **sa** as a noun means 'what' and takes the full range of possible case and number endings as well as postbases, and as a verb **sa-** means 'to do what'.

Examples:
Sameng neghyugsin? 'What do you want to eat?'
Sanguzin? 'What are you?'
Saaqsin? 'What are you going to do?'
Salleqesta? 'What will we do?'

The word for 'who' inflects but not in the regular manner that nouns inflect; several forms (**kina, kitum, kinkut**) are given in the vocabulary above. It can also take postbases.

Examples:
Kina laalighlleqsigu? 'Who$_1$ will you visit?'
Kinkut laalighlleqsiki? 'Who$_{pl}$ will you visit?'
Kitum qikmii tuqusigu? 'Whose dog did you kill?'
Kinanguzin? 'Who are you$_1$?' *(from* **kina** *and postbase* **~:(ng)u** 'to be')
Kinkungutsi? 'Who are you$_{pl}$?' *(from* **kinku(t)** *and postbase* **~:(ng)u-***)*

The word **qafsina** 'how many' (of necessity always plural except in this citation form) inflects like a regular noun and often occurs in the plural ablative-modalis, **qafsinaneng**, or with the postbase **~:(ng)u-** meaning 'to be --'.

Examples:
Qafsinat esghaghsiki? 'How many did you see?'
Qafsinaneng qikmilguzin? 'How many dogs do you have?'
Qavsinangutsi? 'How many (of you) are there?'

The word for 'why' (derived ultimately from **sa**) has several forms the choice of which depends on whether the cause about which the question asks is thought by the questioner to lie with something other than questioner and the person questioned (**sangan** 'why with respect to him, her or it'), with the questioner (**sangama** 'why with respect to me') or with the person questioned (**sangavek** 'why with respect to you').

Examples:
Sangan nenglaghaqsin? 'Why are you laughing?, what is about the world external to you and me that is making you laugh?'
Sangama nenglaghaqsin? 'Why are you laughing?, what is it about me that is making you laugh?'
Sangavek nenglaghaqsin? 'Why are you laughing?, what is it about you that is making you laugh?'

Reflexive vs. non-reflexive 3rd person:

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Chapter 8

Yupik makes an important distinction between third person which refers to someone other than the subject and third person which refers back to the subject. The type of third person which refers back to the subject is called *third person reflexive*, abbreviated, "3R person" as opposed to "3rd person" (in some grammar books, "4th person" is used instead of "3R person").

The absolutive 3R singular ending is **-ni**, the relative 3R singular ending is **~ɾ%mi**, the ablative-modalis 3R singular ending is **~ɾ%mineng** and similarly for the other oblique cases.

Examples comparing 3R and 3rd person non-reflexive:

absolutive:

Laalightaa aakani. 'He visited his (own) sister.'

Laalightaa aakaa. 'He visited his (another's) sister.'

relative:

Laalightaa aakaghmi uginga. 'He visited his (own) sister's husband.'

Laalightaa aakaan uginga. 'He visited his (another's) sister's husband.'

ablative-modalis:

Tagiiq mangteghamineng. 'He came from his (own) house.'

Tagiiq mangteghaaneng. 'He came from his (another's) house.'

Exercises:

Translate the following into English:

1) Sanaqsin? 2) Sameng neghellegesta unaami? 3) Qavngaq kaatetsi Sivuqaghmun? 4) Naken tukfighsiki alquutaten? 5) Sangavek iyataghsin? 6) Qakun kayusighlleqsikung? 7) Sangavek meghnughsin? 8) Qafsinaneng ighnelguzin? 9) Qavngaq liisigu panima aatgha? 10) Qawaagniighsin? 11) Navek aghulaqsin? 12) Tengegkayugmeng nagatestek? 13) Esghaghsiki Quyillget? 14) Qakun igleghlleqestung? 15) Kinanguzin? 16) Kinkungutsi? 17) Naken inghuziki pagunghaat? 18) Sangan aallgetsi? 19) Sangan qulmesiitka tuguzigu? 20) Qakun umeglleqsikek qergesek? 21) Aghveliighsin? 22) Angyangllaghyugsin? 23) Qakun tukfighlleqsikek walguyaagegka? 24) Qikmighllalguzin? 25) Naken ukigestek? 26) Navek mayughestek? 27) Nani esghaghsigu kaviighem riigtenga? 28) Sangan nalluksiki taghnughhaghma aatghit? 29) Nani qavaghestek ighivgaq? 30) Navek llinaqsigu neqeka? 31) Qavngaq laalighsigu apeghtughisten? 32) Sangan kaanneghisin ighivgaq? 33) Qafsinaneng nanughmeng esghaatetsi? 34) Qakun kayusighlleqsinga?

Translate the following into Yupik:

1) Where did you buy your gun? 2) Who did you help? 3) When are we$_2$ going to leave? 4) Who$_{pl}$ did you visit yesterday? 5) Are you sleepy? 6) What are you? 7) Where did you catch seals? 8) Do you want to cook ducks? 9) When will you visit me? 10) Do you know my mother? 11) How many children do you have? 12) Do you have snowshoes? 13) Are you$_2$ hungry? 14) Why don't you know me? 15) Are you a teacher? 16) When will we go home? 17) Who did you see in the store? 18) Where did you put my parka? 19) Do you want to go outside? 20) Why did you open the window? 21) When will you close the door? 22) Are you$_{pl}$ cooking walrus? 23) Did you climb the mountain yesterday? 24) When did you$_{pl}$ come down from the mountain? 25) How did you make a woman's-knife?

Chapter 8

Write Yupik answers to the following Yupik questions:
1) Sameng neghsin ighivgaq? 2) Sameng meghyugsin? 3) Kina atkungllaghsigu? 4) Kinanguzin? 5) Nani nulughetsi? 6) Naken tukfighsikek qulmesiitegken? 7) Sangavek qavaghnizin? 8) Sangustek? 9) Qavngaq kaatetsi? 10) Qakun aghulaqelleqsin? 11) Kinkut liisimaksiki Sivuqaghmi? 12) Navek pinaqsin?

Chapter 9

3rd person subject interrogatives

Vocabulary:

aghvigh-	to cross over, to go to the mainland
aleghqugh-	to talk to, to tell *(trans.)*
aleghquute-	to talk together, to converse *(intrans.)*
amqeghte-	to bite
apayepayiiq	spider
aqlaghate-	to be cold (weather)
aqlaghaghte-	to get cold
atightugh-	to read
aynganangа	musical instrument, phonograph
ghhuute-	to be cold (person) *(takes transitive endings with an "impersonal" subject)*
igagh-, iyagh	to write
iknaqe-	to be strong
ila	relative, one of, some of, part of
isekinagh-	to be cold (solid, liquid)
ivagh-	to look for
kaki-	to sew
keneq	light, lamp
kinangaq	*used instead of* kina *to form 3rd person singular questions*
kinkungaq	*used instead of* kinku(t) *to form 3rd person dual and plural questions*
naliq	which one(s) of *(possessor)*?
naallghute-	to adjust
naalke-	to find
nasaperaq	hat
nenglagh-	to laugh
neqekrak	bread
nuziq	one's child's spouse's parent
payegh-	to meet
pinighsagh-	to fix
qaamte-	to extinguish, turn off
sangami	why? *(with respect to 3rd pers. sing. subject of main verb (3R))*
sangaq	*used instead of* sa *to form 3rd person questions*
siku-	to freeze
ughug-	to melt
uglagh-	to be many, numerous
ugpeqe-	to believe
ulima-	to make
ungipaghaate-	to tell a story to *(trans.)*
wanlegi	more than ever *(particle)*

Postbases:

-(g)kaq, ~ɾ-kaq	one that has *V*-ed or been *V*-ed
-(g)kau-, ~ɾ-kau-	to have *V*-ed or been *V*-ed *(the* au *will become* aa *but may labialize a following velar)*
@~ɾ+ni-	to say that one *V*-s *(compound-verbal pb.)*
+(te)ste-	to have, make, let one *V (compound-verbal pb.)*

Endings:

selected third person subject interrogative endings

Discussion of postbases:

The nominalizing postbase **-(g)kaq, ~ɾ-kaq** means 'one that has *V*-ed' with verb bases that can take intransitive endings, 'one that has been *V*ed' with verb bases that can take transitive endings, and it can have either of these meanings with verb bases that can take both kinds of endings. The first version of the postbase uses **(g)** with bases that end in **e**. (but not **te**). With either version, the **k** of **kaq** will become **q**, **kw** or **qw** with bases that end in **gh**, **w** or **ghw** (a pattern we saw with postbases such as **-gh.lak** and endings such as **~-ka**). If **t** ends up right before **k** with this postbase, the **t** can optionally change to **s**.

Examples:

base	*with postbase*
qiya-	**qiyakaq** 'one who has cried'
kuuve-	**kuuvegkaq, kuufkaq** 'one that has spilled, one that has been spilled'
tuqute-	**tuqutkaq, tuquskaq** 'one that been killed'
ingaghte-	**ingaghtekaq** 'one that has lain down'
ukig-	**ukikaq** 'one that has gone down'
mayugh-	**mayuqaq** 'one that has gone up'
qiighw-	**qiiqwaq** 'one that has coughed'

The preceding postbase can combine with the postbase **~ɾ:(ng)u-** to give a postbase **-(g)kau-, ~ɾ-kau-** meaning 'to have *V*-ed or been *V*-ed'. This postbase takes intransitive endings primarily (like **~ɾ:(ng)u-** does), and the **au** will appear as **aa**, but a following velar will be labialized unless it is followed by **u** (examples given further below).

Compound-verbal postbases:

The verb-elaborating postbase **e~ɾ+ni-** is one of several *compound-verbal postbases*. These postbases have the potential of having the *inner* or *embedded* verb (that is, the verb to which the postbase in question has been added) either the same or different from the *outer* of *derived* verb (that is, the verb with ending that results from adding the postbase in question) in respect to the question of whether intransitive or transitive. Four different situations are possible:

embedded verb intransitive, derived verb intransitive:

yuuk iyataghniiq 'the man said that he (himself) was hungry' *(embedded sentence:* **yuuk iyataghtuq** 'the man is hungry')

embedded verb intransitive, derived verb transitive:

yugem iyataghnii aghnaq 'the man said that the woman was hungry' *(embedded sentence:* **aghnaq iyataghniiq** 'the woman is hungry')

embedded verb transitive, derived verb intransitive:

yuuk kayusiinniiq 'the man said that someone helped him (the man)' *(embedded sentence:* **yuuk kayusiitaa** 'someone

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helped the man')

embedded verb transitive, derived verb transitive:
yugem kayusiinnii aghnaq 'the man said that someone helped the woman' *(embedded sentence:* **aghnaq kayusiitaa** 'someone helped the woman')

The main principle in the operation of this and other compound verbal postbases is that whatever is (or potentially is) in the absolutive case for the embedded verb (i.e. subject if intransitive, object if transitive) is the same as that which is (or potentially is) in the absolutive case for the derived verb (subject if intransitive, object if transitive). Examining the four examples above will show that this is so in each case.

If the embedded verb is transitive, then a subject for it can be indicated with a noun in the terminalis case (see Chapter 5). This use for *subject of an embedded transitive verb* is a non-orientational use of the terminalis; its orientational use was to indicate *place to which.*

Example showing the use of the terminalis for the subject of an embedded transitive verb:

yugem taghnughhaghmun kayusiinnii aghnaq 'the man said that the child helped the woman' *(embedded sentence:* **taghnughhaam kayusiitaa aghnaq** 'the child helped the woman')

The verb-elaborating postbase **+(te)ste-** 'to compel, have, or allow one to *V*' is another compound verbal postbase. The **(te)** is used with consonant-ending bases. The degree of compulsion involved (i.e. whether the translation should be "make" or "let" or "have" one act) in this postbase is determined by other words in the sentence (such as a phrase saying "even though he didn't want to") context, etc.

Examples:
qiyastaa 'he made her cry'
neghestaa 'he let her eat'
yugem aghnaghaghmun allegtestaa efluga 'the man had the girl sweep the floor'

Discussion of grammatical topics:
Impersonal subject transitive verbs:

Some Yupik bases, especially those concerned with natural processes, take transitive endings with an "unnamed" or "impersonal" subject, where the corresponding English construction is intransitive. For example, **ghhuutaanga** 'I am cold', which literally says 'it is making me cold' where a separate noun is not used to specify the 'it', just as in the English "it is raining" no separate noun is used to specify the "it".

3rd person subject interrogatives:
In the last chapter interrogative endings with second person ("you")

and first person non-singular ("we") subjects were discussed. The list below shows the some of the more common third person ("he", "she", "it", "they") subject interrogative endings.

~ɾ+(g/t)a	'he, she, it' *intransitive*
~ɾ+(t)agu	'he, she, it to him, her, it' *transitive*
~ɾ+(t)aki	'he, she, it to them$_{pl}$' *transitive*
~ɾ+(t)anga	'he, she, it to me' *transitive*
~ɾ+(t)aten	'he, she it, to you$_{1}$' *transitive*
~ɾ+(g/t)ak	'they$_{2}$' *intransitive*
~ɾ+(g/t)at	'they$_{pl}$' *intransitive*

The **g** in parentheses is used with bases that end in two vowels, while the **t** in parentheses is used with bases that end in a consonant. Note that this **t** is used with transitive as well as intransitive endings, unlike the situation with the indicative mood where **t** is used with bases that end in a consonant only with intransitive endings.

Examples:

kuuva? 'did it spill?'
kuuvagu? 'did he spill it?'
kitum kuuvagu? 'who spilled it?'
sameng kuuva? 'what did he spill?'
umughqaaga? 'did he have sleep paralysis?'
qiyakaawa? 'has he cried?' *(the* **w** *rather than* **g** *is because the underlying form of the base plus postbase here is* **qiyakau-***; with an indicative ending the* **g** *would not be rounded since it is followed by* **u***:* **qiyakaaguq** 'he has cried')
esghaghtagu? 'did he see it?' *(compare the corresponding indicative which lacks the* **t***:* **esghaghaa** 'he saw it')

With third person subject interrogative endings, to ask "who is --" or "who are --" are "what is (or are) --", instead of using **kina**, **kinku(t)**, and **sa** directly as with second person, expanded forms, **kinangaq**, **kinkungaq** and **sangaq** are used.

Examples:

Kinangaawa? 'Who is he?' *(from* **kinangaq** *and postbase* **~:(ng)u-** *and ending* **~ɾ(g/t)a** *giving* **kinangauga** *hence* **kinangaawa** *by vowel dominance and uvular/velar rounding)*
Kinkungaawat? 'Who are they?'
Sangaawa? 'What is it?'
Sangaawat? 'What are they?'

More interrogative words:

The word **naliq** meaning 'which one(s)' is used with a possessed ending and in interrogative sentences. The possessors are the group from which the 'which one(s)' is (are) singled out. As such it functions like the phrase "which one(s) of them" does in English, and like **ila** 'one of, some of' does in Yupik.

Example:

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Naliit qikmigpek qilugta? 'Which one of your dogs barked?' *(compare:* **Qikmigpek ilangat qilugtuq** 'One of your dogs barked')

In addition to **sangan** 'why (with respect to someone other than the questioner and the one questioned)' there is another form, **sangami**, for 'why' where the presumed cause behind the question is the third person subject of the interrogative verb.

Examples illustrating the difference between **sangan** and **sangami**:

Sangami nenglaghaqa? 'Why is he laughing?, what is there about him (the one laughing) that he is laughing?'

Sangan nenglaghaqa? 'Why is he laughing?, what is there about it (the situation) or him (someone other than the person laughing) that he is laughing?'

Exercises:

Translate into English:

1) Sameng atan ivaghta? 2) Kinangaawa? 3) Kinkungaawat aqelqat? 4) Kitum qiyastaten? 5) Nengyughpek ighivgaq ungipaghaatagu ighneghen? 6) Neghegkaawa? 7) Nani yughaghtem payeghtagu nuzin? 8) Naliita qikmima amqeghtaten? 9) Sangama apeghtughistem esghaghyugtanga? 10) Qavngaq naayvaq sikwaa? 11) Navek naagpek lliiki neqekraget? 12) Kitum kakilleqagu nasaperan? 13) Sangan ighneqa ugpeqenghitagu? 14) Naliita taghnughhaghpek qaamtagu keneq? 15) Qakun naallghulleqsigu eglluk? 16) Sangami Nome-emun aghviqaawa? 17) Naten siku ughugtestagu? 18) Sangaawa? 19) Sangavek iknaqsin? 20) Naliit alquutama naalkaki? 21) Mekelghiighem qikmimun aghnaghaq qilugtestaa. 22) Kitumun naallghutestesiki mangteghaghpek qergesngi?

Translate into Yupik:

1) The spiders are numerous in the house. 2) Who made your boat? 3) It's getting colder and colder. 4) Why are your child's-spouse's-parents laughing? 5) How did you make your kids go to bed? 6) One of my children is crying. 7) Which one of them is crying? 8) Who made my children cry? 9) Where did he lose my hat? 10) Did the ice melt? 11) Do you want to eat pilot bread? 12) He had the woman sew my parka. 13) Who did your mom have sew your parka? 14) I had the woman cook the seal. 15) They have gone over to Chaplino. 16) Was it cold in Savoonga? 17) I'm cold. 18) The water in the pot is cold. 19) Does your grandfather know me? 20) When will they leave? 21) Which of your hats did he take? 22) When will he visit me? 23) How did your dad make your stove?

Write five Yupik sentences using only the vocabulary, postbases and endings we have studied so far.

Chapter 10

1st and 2nd person subject optatives

Vocabulary

aqume-	to sit
egte-	to throw away
esna	beach
igaghyaghqaq, iyaghyaghqaq	paper to be written on
igaq, iyaq	paper with writing (book *in plural*)
kaamwaaq	coltsfoot plant
kaaw-	to hit
kenigh-	to point, to point at
lata-	to write a letter, to write a letter to
legan	go ahead; and then *(particle)*
nangliі-	to stare
nekeve-	to stand
nekrek	hook
pugimagh-	to swim
puugzaq	beluga
pumsug-	to pinch
qayugh-	to drink hot liquid (coffee, tea)
qayuusiq	cup
quuk	firewood
quuk	swan *(homonyms with preceding word)*
uqungaq	leaf, edible willow leaf
unkusa^{e}	animal trap *(usually dual for one trap)*
taaghta	doctor *(base is* taaghta*)*
tagite-	to bring
tuqute-	to kill

Postbases:

~$_{sr}$:(e)sqe-	to ask or tell one to *V (compound-verbal)*
+(te)sug-	to want one to *V (compound-verbal)*

Endings:

selected 1st and 2nd person subject optative endings

Discussion of postbases:

The verb-elaborating postbase **~$_{sr}$:(e)sqe-** 'to ask or tell one to *V*' is a compound-verbal postbase (see Chapter 9). This postbase uses **(e)** with bases ending in consonants. It is uvular dropping type, but the resulting cluster of full vowel plus **e** always becomes **ii** even if the full vowel in question is **a** or **u**.

Examples:

base	*with postbase*
kaki-	**kakisqaa** 'he told her to sew'
aane-	**aanesqaa** 'he told her to go out'
ukig-	**ukigesqaa** 'he told her to go down'
gaagh-	**gaaghesqaa** 'he told her to cook'
itegh-	**iitghesqaa** 'he told her to go in'
qavagh-	**qavaghesqaa** --> **qaviisqaa** 'he told her to sleep'
mayugh-	**mayughesqaa** --> **mayiisqaa** 'he told her to go up'

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kenigh- **kenighesqaa** --> **keniisqaa** 'he told her to point, he told someone to point at it' *(as in* **yugem aghnamun keniisqaa qikmiq** 'the man told the woman to point at the dog')

The verb-elaborating postbase **+(te)sug-** 'to want one to *V*' is also compound-verbal. The **(te)** is used with consonant ending bases. This postbase is a combination of **+(te)ste-** 'to have one *V*' and **e~ɾ+yug-** 'to want to *V*'. That it is such a combination can be seen by carefully examining what happens to an expanded base ending in **ste-** when followed by the **e~ɾ+yug-** postbase. Also, the combination of meanings, 'to want to have one *V*', is in fact equivalent to 'to want one to *V*'. Thus in Yupik there are two different postbases for "wanting" depending on whether the person wanting wants himself to do something or wants another to do something.

Examples showing the difference between these postbases:

Yuuk neghyugtuq. 'The man wants to eat.'
Yugem neghyugaa kayu. 'The man wants to eat the fish.'
Yugem neghesugaa aghnaq. 'The man wants the woman to eat.'
Yugem aghnamun neghesugaa kayu. 'The man wants the woman to eat the fish.' *(here,* **aghnamun** *is in the terminalis as the subject of the embedded transitive verb)*

Discussion of grammatical topics:
2nd person subject optatives; non-singular 1st person subject optatives:

In addition to the indicative mood (used for statements) and the interrogative mood (used for questions) Yupik has what is called the *optative* mood which is used for commands, and suggestions. In other languages the forms used for making commands are generally called *imperative*, but in Yupik the family of forms used for making commands such as "eat!" also contains forms which translate to "let's eat!", "I should eat", "may he eat". These are hardly commands so the term *imperative mood* is avoided in favor of *optative mood* which implies more of a wish that something be so than an outright command. Here we shall examine only certain common optative endings for 2nd person subject and 1st person non-singular subject, leaving other optative endings (such as the ones for "he should *V*" and "I should *V*") for a later chapter.

Ø, +gi, ~ɾ+i, +n, ~ʂɾ+i, :a	'you$_1$, *V*!' *(intrans.)*
~ɾ+(i)gu, ~ʂɾ-ggu	'you$_1$, *V* him, her, it!' *(trans.)*
~ɾ+(i)ki	'you$_1$, *V* them!' *(trans.)*
~ɾ+(i)nga	'you$_1$, *V* me!' *(trans.)*
~ɾ+(i)kut	'you$_1$, *V* us!' *(trans.)*
~ʂɾ:(e)ltung	'let's$_2$ *V*!' *(intrans.)*
~ʂɾ:(e)lta	'let's$_{pl}$ *V*!' *(intrans.)*

The most basic ending, that of the second person singular intransitive optative ("you$_1$ do it") has five forms. The first

form, **Ø**, which means that the verb base without alteration or addition is used as the optative form, is used with bases ending in a single full vowel. The second form, **+gi**, is used with bases ending in two full vowels. The third form, **~ᵣ+i**, is used with bases ending in **e** but not **te**. The fourth form **+n** is used with bases ending in **te**. The fifth form, **~ₛᵣ+i**, is used with bases ending in a consonant where uvular dropping does not occur (i.e. where the consonant is not **gh** or is not preceded on the base by a single full vowel). The sixth form, **:a** is used where uvular dropping does occur (with vowel dominance also a possibility).

Examples:

base	*with ending*
bases ending in one full vowel:	
tagi- 'to come'	**tagi** 'come!'
qiya- 'to cry'	**qiya** 'cry!'
bases ending in two full vowels:	
aqii- 'to go on a vacation'	**aqiigi** 'go on a vacation'
bases ending in **e** *but not* **te:**	
aane- 'to go out'	**aani** 'go out!'
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghi** 'eat!'
bases ending in **te:**	
ingaghte- 'to lie down'	**ingaghten** 'lie down!'
bases ending in a consonant where uvular dropping does not occur:	
ukig- 'to go down'	**ukigi** 'go down!'
gaagh- 'to cook'	**gaaghi** 'cook!'
itegh- 'come in'	**iitghi** 'come in!'
bases ending in a consonant where uvular dropping occurs:	
qavagh- 'to sleep'	**qavagha --> qavaa** 'sleep!'
mayugh- 'to go up'	**mayugha --> mayua --> mayaa** 'go up!'
kenigh- 'to point'	**kenigha --> kenia --> kenii** 'point!'

The second optative ending on the list above, meaning "you do it to it", has two forms, **~ᵣ+(i)gu** and **~ₛᵣ-ggu**. The first of these is used with all vowel ending bases and the second with consonant ending bases. The **(i)** in the first form is used with bases that end in **e** (including **te**). The second form will become **ghhu** if the base ends in a velar (see the postbase **-ghllak** in Chapter 3).

Examples:

base	*with ending*
aqfa- 'to go get'	**aqfagu** 'go get it!'
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghigu** 'eat it!'
tuqute- 'to kill'	**tuqutigu** 'kill it!'
kenigh- 'to point (to)'	**kenighhu** 'point to it!'
umeg- 'to close'	**uumggu** 'close it!'

The third, fourth and fifth optative ending on the list above attach like the first form of the above ending.

The sixth and seventh optative endings on the list above,

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~$_{sf}$(e):lta, 'let's$_{p1}$ --' and **~$_{sf}$(e):ltung** 'let's$_{s2}$ --', use (e) with consonant ending bases.

Examples:

base	*with ending*
inghu- 'to pick berries'	**inghulta** 'let's pick berries'
aane- 'to go out'	**aanelta** 'let's go out'
ingaghte- 'to lie down'	**ingaghtelta** 'let's lie down'
gaagh- 'to cook'	**gaaghelta** 'let's cook'
ukig- 'to go down'	**ukigelta** 'let's go down'
itegh- 'to go in'	**iitghelta** 'let's go in'
qavagh- 'to sleep'	**qavaghelta** --> **qavaalta** 'let's sleep'
mayugh- 'to go up'	**mayughelta** --> **mayuulta** 'let's go up'
kenigh- 'to point'	**kenighelta** --> **keniilta** 'let's point'

There are several ways to tell someone not to do something in Yupik. The following are *negative optative* endings.

-fqaavek	'you$_1$, don't *V*!' *(intrans.)*
-fqaan	'you$_1$, don't *V* it!' *(trans.)*
-fqiita	'you$_1$, don't *V* them' *(trans.)*
-fqaama	'you$_1$, don't *V* me!' *(trans.)*

These endings consist of a negative optative marker, **-fqaa-** basically, and a person/number marker, **-vek**, **-n**, **-ta** or **-ma**. These person-and-number markers are essentially the possessed relative noun case endings **-gpek**, **-an**, **-ita** and **-ma**. For intransitive, agreement is with the subject "you", as in **kenifqaavek** '(you) don't point!'. For transitive the agreement is with the object "it", "them" or "me", as in **kenifqaan** 'don't point at it!', **kenifqiita** 'don't point at them!', and **kenifqaama** 'don't point at me!'.

All the optatives given in this chapter are directed at the present time. Optatives directed toward the future are formed differently and will be discussed in Chapter 17.

Exercises:

Translate the following into English:

1) Igaghyaghqaq egtigu. 2) Neghi qugungameng. 3) Pugimaaltung kiiwmi. 4) Tugugu qayuusiq tipelegneng. 5) Lliki alquutat qulmesiitmun. 6) Kayusighnga. 7) Unaami aghviilta. 8) Qayuulta kufimeng. 9) Tagitiki nekreget mangteghamun. 10) Neghefqaavek quugmeng. 11) Laalightikut. 12) Aakw kuuvefqaan. 13) Unkuska atuqefqaan. 14) Pumsufqaama. 15) Ukigelta esnamun. 16) Amaa guutigu. 17) Keneq qaamtigu. 18) Qergesa uumggu. 19) Amiget qelpeghtiki. 20) Tuqutefqaan puugzaq. 21) Kaamwaaghmeng negheltung. 22) Tagitiki quuget esnameng. 23) Latakaagunga yughaghtemun. 24) Taaghtat kaaskaagut. 25) Taaghtam aghnamun qayunghitesqaa kufi.

Translate the following into Yupik:

1) Cook the beluga meat. 2) Don't lose my trap. 3) Help me. 4)

Lie down. 5) Drink your coffee. 6) He wants me to drink some coffee. 7) Let's icefish at the little lake. 8) Stand up. 9) Sit down. 10) The doctor wants the minister to sleep. 11) Hit it. 12) Who are the visitors from Chaplino? 13) Go ahead and kill the cormorants. 14) Let's$_2$ eat little sea peaches. 15) The doctor pinched my ring fingers. 16) Point at it. 17) Don't sit on the hooks. 18) He didn't want the Koryak visitors to stare. 19) Did the Chukchis eat beluga? 20) Why did you throw away your cup?

Write a dozen useful commands. They may involve bases not on the vocabulary so far.

Chapter 11

Participial mood

Vocabulary:

aghmig-	to wash one's face
akita, akin	pillow
akite-	to answer, to reciprocate
awataghpak	sealskin float
geve-	to render (oil), to be compressed *(intrans.)*
gheve-	to fade
ghhuugh-	to inflate
ifkagh-	to fall from a height
ifkaghte-	to drop *(trans.)*
ini-	to hang to dry
kavite-	to be red
naafqe-	to break *(trans.)*
nalug-	to land from the air
naave-	to break *(intrans.)*
nefkuuraq	dried meat
paagh-	to lick
para	butter *(from English)*
pilugug-	to put on clothing
Pureki	Negro *(from English "Portugese")*
qaame-	to go out (fire, light, etc.)
qinuyug-	to be sick
quunpeng	always *(particle -- generally used with postbase* ~+(g)aqe *on verb)*
sagneq	dish, bowl, food container
sangighqugh-	to wash dishes
salngak	box
sughma	chess, checkers *(ultimately from Farsi; related to English "checkmate")*
sughma-	to play chess or checkers
sukate-	to be fast
tefli	particles of food or the like clinging around mouth
tuune-	to give to
tuquuqaq	nail
tuquuqagh-	to nail
veglluk	towel *(also* tawli *(from Eng.) esp. in Sib.)*

Postbases:

-ligh-	to provide with *N*, to put *N* in
@~:(i/u)ma-	to have *V*-ed or to have been *V*-ed; to evidently have *V*-ed *(when used with "participial" mood)*
:(u)te-	to *V* with, for or to object; to *V* object along with oneself; to *V* each other
+ti-	to speak the language of *N*

Endings & Postbases:

@-lghii	*postbase meaning:* the one who is *V*-ing *(always used with an unpossessed ending); also marks the intransitive "participial" mood*
@nguq*	*same as above but for descriptive and*

negative bases ending in te

@~-(g)ka^{e}/(g)ka *postbase meaning:* the one who the possessor is *V*-ing *(always used with a possessed ending); also marks the transitive "participial" mood*

Discussion of postbases:

The verbalizing postbase **-ligh-**, means 'to provide with *N*, to put *N* into', so that from **pagunghaq** 'berry' one gets **pagunghalighaa** 'he put berries into it (more in the sense of adding berries into a mixture than putting them in a container)'.

@~:(u/i)ma- is a verb-elaborating postbase which indicates that an action has already occurred in the case of *change of state* type verb (such as "going out", "dying", "breaking" etc.) or that an action or state has been going on for some time in the case of verbs that aren't *change of state* type. The parenthesized **u** is used with all bases except those ending in a full vowel or in **te**; the parenthesized **i** is used with bases ending in **te**; the **t** of **te** on bases changes to **s**. With a verb base that can take transitive endings and with an intransitive ending after this postbase the meaning can be passive based on the object of what could be called the embedded transitive verb (see examples with **negh<e>-** and **tuqute-** below).

Examples:

base	*with postbase and ending*
siku- 'to freeze'	**sikumaaq** 'it is frozen' *(compare* **sikuuq** 'it froze')
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghumaaq** 'he has eaten' *(from embedded* **neghtuq** 'he ate'*) or* 'it has been eaten' *(from embedded* **neghaa** 'he ate it'
tuqute- 'to kill'	**tuqusimaaq** 'it has been killed'
iyatagh- 'to be hungry'	**iyataamaaq** 'he has been hungry for a long time'
umeg- 'to close'	**uumgumaaq** 'it is closed'

:(u)te- is another verb-elaborating postbase. It has a range of meanings including 'to *V* for, to *V* with, to *V* on together with oneself', and when used with a non-singular intransitive ending 'to V toward each other'. The exact meaning depends on the semantic type of the verb and the context. **(u)** is used with all bases except those ending in a full vowel.

Examples:

base	*with postbase and ending*
inghu- 'to pick berries'	**inghutaa** 'he picked berries for him'
tagi- 'to come'	**tagitaa** 'he came with it, brought it'
akuzi- 'to speak'	**akuzituk** 'they$_2$ are speaking to each other'
aane- 'to go out'	**aanutaa** 'he went out with it, took it out with him'
kaate- 'to arrive'	**kaatutaa** 'he arrived with it'

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ukig- 'to go down' **ukigutaa** 'he took it down with him'
mayugh- 'to go up' **mayuutaa** 'he took it up with him'
itegh- 'to go in' **iitghutaa** 'he took it in' *(there is also a form* **itghutaa** 'he took it in'; *the predictable form, with long* **i** *due to* **e** *hopping, often has the implication of 'suddenness' or 'forcefulness')*

The verbalizing postbase **+ti-** means 'to speak the language of *N*'. Thus, **Quyillegtiiq** 'he spoke Chukchi', **ayuqlightiiq** 'he spoke mainland Alaskan Eskimo'.

The nominalizing postbase, **@-lghii**, means 'the one that *V*-ed or is *V*'. When used with a base ending in **te**, the **te** is dropped, the postbase is devoiced with **e** inserted if necessary to prevent a three-consonant cluster (see examples below). With *negative* and *descriptive* bases ending in **te** a different postbase, **@nguq***, is used; it changes the **te** to **l**.

Examples:

base	*with postbase*
tagi- 'to come'	**tagilghii** 'the one who came'
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghelghii** 'the one who ate'
aange- 'to be big'	**aangelghii** 'the big one'
kaate- 'to arrive'	**kaallghii** 'the one who arrived'
laalighte- 'to visit'	**laalighlleghhii** 'the one who visited'
itegh- 'to go in'	**itelghii** 'the one who came in'
the following two bases take the special alternate postbase	
sukate- 'to be fast'	**sukalnguq** 'the fast one'
neghenghite- 'to not eat'	**neghenghilnguq** 'the one who didn't eat'

Closely connected to the above postbase is the nominalizing postbase **@~-(g)ka^{e}/(g)ka**. This postbase is used only bases which can take transitive endings and it itself must be used with a possessed ending. It means 'the one that possessor *V*-ed'. **(g)** is used with bases ending in **e** (optionally except after **ghe** where it is obligatory) but not with bases ending in **te**. The **@~-(g)ka-** combining form of this postbase is used when the possessive ending used with it starts with **ng**; otherwise the **@~-(g)ke-** combining form of the postbase is used. This postbase changes **te** on a base following a vowel to **s** or leaves it as **t** unless the **te** is part of a negative postbase in which case it changes to **l**; **te** on a base following a consonant is left as is.

Examples:

base	*with postbase and ending*
kuuve- 'to spill'	**kuuvegkanga, kuufkanga** 'the one he (possessor) spilled'
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghegkanga** 'the one he ate'
	neghegkangi 'the ones he ate'
	neghegkeka 'the one I ate'
	neghegkenka 'the ones I ate'
	neghegken 'the one you ate'
	neghegketen 'the ones you ate'

tuqute- 'to kill'	**tuqutkanga, tuquskanga** 'the one he killed'
neghenghite- 'to not eat'	**neghenghilkanga** 'the one he didn't eat'
esghagh- 'to see'	**esghaqanga** 'the one he saw'

Discussion of grammatical topics:
Participial mood:

The preceding two morphemes **@-lghii** (and the special substitute, **@nguq**) and **@~-(g)ka^{e}/(g)ka** serve not only as nominalizing postbases, but also as the markers of a verb mood. This is the *participial mood*. It is much like the *indicative* mood in that it is used for making statements (rather than questions or requests), but its is much more limited than the indicative. The participial mood is used as a "past tense" in continuing discourse, and it is used in conjunction with the postbase **@~:(u/i)ma-** to indicate that something has occurred without being observed by the speaker. As such it may be translated with 'evidently'. When used as a marker of the participial mood, the morpheme **@-lghii-** (and **@ngugh-** or perhaps better **@ngu-**) take the same intransitive endings as the indicative, while the morpheme **@~-(g)ke-/ka-** takes transitive endings like those of the indicative but with adjustments made for the fact that the marker here is vowel-ending rather than consonant ending like the transitive indicative ending essentially is (it is essentially **~agh-**). For example, **ng** is used at the front of vowel-initial person/number markers, and the "I to it" ending is **-(g)ka** rather than **-qa** as with the indicative Compare the differing forms of possessed absolutive noun endings with consonant-final noun bases such as **angyagh-** where one gets **angyaa** 'his boat' (like the indicative **esghaghaa** 'he saw it' and vowel-final noun bases such as **nuna-** where one gets **nunanga** 'his land' (like the participial **esghaqanga**).

Examples:

base with postbase	*with participial ending*
neghuma-	**neghumalghii** 'evidently he ate'
	neghumalghiit 'evidently they ate'
	neghumalghiinga 'evidently I ate' *(this would be an unusual thing to say!)*
	neghumalghiiten 'evidently you ate'
	neghumakanga 'evidently he ate it'
	neghumakegka 'evidently I ate it'
	neghumaken 'evidently you ate it'
esghaama-	**esghaamakanganga'** evidently he saw me'

Here is an example of the use of the participial mood (underlined), with and without the postbase **@~:(u/i)ma-** in continuing discourse (in a story in the book **Ungazighmiit Ungipaghaatangit** p. 44):

Iimnanguq. Quyillgennguq quyngightupigllegghhiit ama mengteghaghtuuqat. Mekelghiiq tamaanlenguq aatgha Umiilgu. Quunpeng quyngimi qepghaghaqelghii. Umiilgu elngaatall seghletun kiyaghsimalghii. Kaamgek naatghighquullutek,

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repall ununghagu itegii kumlaqughaqegkangi. Umiilgu aghnaghaat piniqenghilkangat.

"It happened then they say. The Chukchis, they say, had a lot of reindeer and also houses. A boy was there; his name being Umiilgu. He always worked with the reindeer. Umiilgu evidently lived a very hard life. His boots were wearing out their soles so much so that whenever night fell on him his feet would freeze. The girls didn't care for Umiilgu."

Exercises:

Translate the following into English:

1) Naagpek sagnegha pagunghalighnaqaqa. 2) Taghnughhaq qinuyulghii iitghumaaq apami mangteghaanun. 3) Yugem inimakanga veglluk eslakun. 4) Aqelqat aghulaqumalghiit Ungazighmun. 5) Aghnam avaqutaminun sangighqusqumakangi sagneghet. 6) Siqinghem ghevesimakanga veglluk kavilnguq. 7) Para ughugumaaq. 8) Tengegkayuget sukalnguut nalugnaqut naayvam qaaynganun. 9) Gaaghutaa ugini nanuum kemekraganeng. 10) Qergesek qelpeghsimaak. 11) Quyillget mayuulleqiit salngaget naayghamun. 12) Estugam efluga aallgumaaq. 13) Siivanlleghem mekelghiighmun paaghtestii alquutat. 14) Esghaatunga Purekimeng teflilegmeng esnami. 15) Awataghpak ghhuughigasimaken. 16) Akitutaqukung igaghvigmi quunpeng. 17) Apeghtughistem tuunelleqii tuquuqat taaghtamun suflugalegmun naavumalghiimeng. 18) Atiimaaq tukumtung eltughaa. 19) Karakem Quyillegtilghiim neghyugaa nefkuuraq. 20) Aghnaghaam aghmilghiim atuqnaqaa vegllugen. 21) Akitesqughhaq ifkaamalghii nunamun.

Translate the following into Yupik:

1) My older brother's wife speaks mainland Eskimo. 2) The old man's grandson evidently broke the door of the church. 3) The teacher's sons are speaking to each other in Yupik. 4) The woman is picking salmonberries for her sweetheart. 5) The orphans brought the boxes into the preacher's house. 6) Evidently the blubber rendered in the pot. 7) Why is my dad's phonograph broken? 8) Who took the parkas from the box on the stove? 9) His younger sisters, who are sick, are telling stories to each other. 10) They are always playing chess.

Write five Yupik sentences using verbs in the "participial" mood

Chapter 12

Independent relative construction; postural roots; contractions formed with the obsolete base ete-

Vocabulary:

aghnaghuq	"sea apple" (an edible sea creature)
agniqe-	to be angry (women)
aqumga-	to be sitting *stative (compare* aqume- *)*
ete-	to be *(obsolete base; used only in contractions with localis case)*
iggag-	tilting, leaning against something *(postural root)*
ilagagh-	to sing
ilangquq	clear fresh ice
matagh-	undressed, parka-less *(postural root)*
mumig-	turned over *(postural root)*
nekevgha-	to be standing *stative (compare* nekeve- *)*
perara	meat aspic, a dish of finely minced meat cooked in meat broth and jelled before eating
qazigyaq	spotted seal
qefliqe-	to be angry (men)
qughsatku	"king" polar bear
tanpeq	dried walrus hide
ullghitaq	wheeled vehicle *(often used in the dual for one vehicle)*
whani	right here *(demonstrative adverb, localis)*

The following are used only in the "independent relative" construction:

allakagh*	separately
ellnginagh*	only, alone
qerngagh*	together
tamaghhagh*	all
@~:(i/u)magh*	while *V*-ing

Postbases:

-kayuk	one who is able to *V (also* -kayugu- to be able to *V which can taken transitive as well as intransitive endings)*
+nga-	to be in the *V* state *(with postural roots and some others)*
+te-	to get or put into the *V* state *(with postural roots)*

Discussion of postbases:

The nominalizing postbase **-kayuk** means 'one who is able to *V*'. For example: **gaaqayuk** 'one who can cook'. From this postbase and the postbase **~:(ng)u-** 'to be *N*' (see Chapter 4) comes the verbalizing postbase **-kayugu-** 'to be able to *V*', which literally means 'to be one who is able to *V*'. However the combination postbase can take transitive endings while **~:(ng)u-** takes only intransitive endings. Thus not only can one say **gaaqayuguuq** 'he can cook', but also **gaaqayugaa** 'he can cook it'.

Postural roots:

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Chapter 12

A number of verbs which involving being in a certain posture, position or state have both an *active* form to indicate getting into that posture and a *stative* form to indicate being in that posture. For example **aqume-** and **nekeve-** are *active* forms. One says **aqumuq** for 'he sat down' and **nekevuq** for 'he stood up. The corresponding *stative* forms are **aqumga-** and **nekevgha-**. One says **aqumgaaq** for 'he is seated' and **nekevghaaq** for 'he is standing'.

There are a number of so-called *postural roots* which take a postbase **+te-** to make an *active* form meaning 'to get into that posture' or with a transitive ending 'to put into that posture', and a postbase **+nga-** to make a *stative* form meaning 'to be in that posture' (both of these postbases can also be used with certain verb bases other than the postural roots). The postural root cannot be used directly with an indicative, interrogative, optative or participial mood verb ending; it must have one of these two postbases too.

Examples:

root	*active forms*		*stative form*
ingagh-	**ingaghtuq**	**ingaghtaa**	**ingaghngaaq**
	'he lay down'	'he lay it down'	'he is lying down'
iggag-	**iggagtuq**	**iggagtaa**	**iggagngaaq**
	'he leaned'	'he leaned it'	'he is leaning'

Discussion of grammatical topics:

Independent relative:

The postural roots without either of these two postbases can be used in a construction called the *independent relative*. These roots are used with possessed relative endings with third person reflexive used to apply to the subject of the verb. The construction serves an adverbial role.

Examples:

Neghtut ingaghmeng. 'They ate lying down'. *(3rd person reflexive independent relative to agree with 3rd person subject of verb)*

Neghtunga inghaghma. 'I ate lying down.' *(1st person independent relative to agree with 1st person subject of verb)*

Neghtuten ingaghpek. 'You ate lying down.'

The independent relative construction can also be used with slightly expanded versions of the stative form of "to sit" and "to stand", that is with **aqumgagh-** and **nekevghagh-**.

Examples:

Neghtunga aqumgaghma. 'I ate sitting.'

Neghtunga nekevghaghma. 'I ate standing.'

There are also four bases which are used only in the independent relative construction. These bases are **allakagh-** 'separately', **ellnginagh-** 'alone, only', **qerngugh-** 'together', and **tamaghhagh-** 'all, every, both (for dual)'.

Examples:

Kaatut allakaghmeng. 'They arrived separately.'
Aghulaqut qerngaghmeng. 'They left together.'
Ellnginaghma qepghaghtunga. 'I alone worked.'
Tamaghhaghmeng neghiit. 'They all ate them.' *(3rd person reflexive independent relative to agree with subject)*
Tamaghhiita neghiit. 'They ate all of them.' *(3rd person non-reflexive independent relative to agree with object)*

The independent relative construction can also be used with the verb-elaborating postbase **@~:(i/u)magh*** meaning 'while *V*-ing'. This postbase is actually a special form and use of the postbase **@~:(i/u)ma-** 'to have *V*-ed or to have been *V*-ed' (Chapter 11).

Example:

Aleghquutut qepghaamaghmeng. 'They talked to each other while working.'
Qepghaghtunga neghumaghma. 'I worked while eating.'

However, a verb expanded with the postbase in question cannot be used transitively in this construction. To say, for example, 'I worked while eating the fish', one must go to the *subordinative mood* (see Chapter 15).

In summary, the independent relative construction is used with active forms of postural roots and some other verbs ("sitting" and "standing"), with the four special bases that are used only (or mostly at any rate) in the independent relative, and with the postbase meaning 'while *V*-ing'.

The obsolete verb base **ete-**:

The verb base **ete-** 'to be' is not used by itself in Yupik though it is in some other Eskimo languages. In Yupik it is encountered only in contractions with the localis case noun ending and with the 3rd person singular reflexive independent relative. Notice the varied patterns concerning the vowel between **m** or **n** and **t**.

Examples:

angyametuq 'he is in the boat' *(from obsolete* **angyami etuq**)
yugem angyaanituq 'he is in the man's boat' *(from obsolete* **yugem angyaani etuq**)
whaantuq 'it is here' *(from obsolete* **whani etuq**)
iggagmelnguq 'the one that is leaning' *(from postural root* **iggag-**, *independent relative ending* **-mi**, *and postbase* **@nguq**)

Exercises:

Translate the following into English and parse the Yupik: 1) Allakaghmeng aanumalghiit mangteghameng. 2) Neghaqa perara tamaghhaan. 3) Sangavek atightughaqsin ingaghngaghpek eflugami? 4) Aghnalqwaaghaq kakilghii atkugmeng avaqutami mangteghaanituq.

5) Qefliqelghiim yugem seghleghunii tanpeq atuqnaqegkeni. 6) Ighneghma qughsatkumun qazigyat neghumaniit. 7) Ullghitaq mumigngalghii tukfighlleqaqa. 8) Ilangquq salngagmetuq. 9) Atkugen kavilnguq whaantuq. 10) Naaka kakiiq ellnginaghmi. 11) Qerngaghmeng mekelghiighet mataghngaghmeng pugimaghaqut. 12) Agniqelghii aghnaghumeng neghegkayuguuq.

Translate the following into Yupik: 1) The person who is singing is inside the church. 2) All the women went to Savoonga with their grandchildren. 3) Who is the teacher angry at? 4) I saw only your brother on the shore of the lake. 5) The little girl says she's able to sew skin boots. 6) The boy says that your dog barked at him. 7) Evidently the airplane arrived yesterday from Chaplino. 8) I made a woman's-knife by myself. 9) Your son is in my older sister's house. 10) Where is the jelled meat dish you made?

Write the Yupik sentences "embedded" within each of the following: 1) Aghnam taghnughhaghmun tuguniit alquutat. 2) Aghnaghaq qikmighpenun amqeghhniiq. 3) Yughaghtem apeghtughistenun laalightesqaat taaghtat. 4) Laluramkem nuliini kayusiitestaa ighneghminun. 5) Kaallghiim aqlaghannaqnii naayghani.

Chapter 13

Emotional roots; precessive and concessive moods

Vocabulary:

akmak	backpack
amsikagh-	naked *(postural root)*
eflegh-	uncomfortable with respect to something on one's skin *(emotional root)*
ivisa	flounder, halibut
kalila(e)	dalmatian dog
kayngu-	embarrassed *(emotional root)*
kiyaghte-	to be, live, reside
nuugte-	to move or move something (a short way)
pangeghte-	to go to Siberia
puygu-	to forget
qaazugh-	alienated, depressed, out of sorts *(emotional root)*
quginag-	terrified of supernatural *(emotional root)*
qungyagh-	to be jealous, envious *(takes intransitive endings)*
qungyake-	to be jealous of, to envy *(takes transitive endings)*
qupak	girl's hair beads
retwhan	cannon
sari	dog with floppy ears
sikna-	possessive, holding dear, selfish *(emotional root)*
siilu	brass
ungipaate-	to tell
uyviineq	shaman who can work evil
yimi-	shy, inhibited, intimidated *(emotional root)*

Postbases:

@~ɾ+miqe-	to compel one to *V (a compound-verbal postbase)*

the following postbases are used with emotional roots (as well as with some other verb bases):

~-ke-	to feel *V* toward object
~-ketagh-	to tend to often feel *V*
@~ɾ+nagh-	to tend to cause one to feel *V*
@~ɾ+naq	something that causes one to feel *V*
@~ɾ+yug-	to feel *V*

Verb Mood Markers:

@~ɾ+vagilg(a)-	before one *V*-ed or *V*-s *"precessive" mood*
-ghnga(agh)-	even though one *V*-s *"concessive" mood*

Discussion of postbases:

The verb-elaborating postbase **@~ɾ+miqe-** is compound-verbal (see Chapter 9). It means to 'make, compel, or force one to *V*' as opposed to **+(te)ste-** which includes 'allow one to *V*' as well as 'compel'. Unlike postbases such as **@~ɾ+ni-** 'to say that one is *V*-ing' (Chapter 9) the present postbase does not replace a cluster of t and nasal with the voiceless form of that nasal unless the cluster is preceded by a consonant.

Examples:

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base	*with postbase*
qiya- 'to cry'	**qiyamiqaa** 'he made her cry'
tagite- 'to bring'	**tagitmiqaa** 'he made someone bring it'
ingaghte- 'to lie down'	**ingaghhmiqaa** 'he made her lie down'
qavagh- 'to sleep'	**qavaghmiqaa** 'he made her sleep'

Emotional roots:

Besides the *postural roots* (Chapter 12), Yupik has another kind of root, the *emotional roots*. These cannot be used at all without one of a select number of postbases between root and ending. These postbases are:

~-ke-	'to feel that way toward object'
~-ketagh-	'to tend to often feel that way'
@~ɾ+nagh-	'to tend to cause one to feel that way'
@~ɾ+naq	'something that causes one to feel thus way'
@~ɾ+yug-	'to feel that way'

The first of these postbases takes transitive endings, the fourth forms nouns and the other three take intransitive endings.

Examples:

yimikaa 'he feels shy, inhibited, intimidated of her'
yimiketaghtuq 'he tends to be shy'
yiminaghtuq 'he makes one feel shy'
yiminaq 'a person who makes one feel shy'
yimiyugtuq 'he feels shy'

Roots with the postbase **@~ɾ+nagh** or **@~ɾ+naq** are often used the exclamation forming postbase **ggalek** (see Chapter 7). For example, **yiminaghhalek** 'how initimidating!'.

Discussion of grammatical topics:

Independent vs. dependent verb moods:

The indicative, interrogative, optative, and participial verb moods are *independent* in that they usually function as the main or only verb of the sentence in which they occur. There are also a number of Yupik verb moods that cannot be the main verb or the only verb of the sentence. These are the *dependent* moods. They fill the same role filled by certain English coordinate conjunctions such as "before", "although", "when", "if" and "whenever". The two presented in this chapter and the four from the next chapter all take basically the same person/number markers though the mood markers are different. This group of six dependent moods may be called the *connective* moods. There is also one dependent mood which is not one of the connective moods, that is, it takes different person/number markers; it is the *subordinative* mood and will be dealt with in a later chapter.

Precessive mood:

The first connective mood we shall examine is the *precessive* mood. The marker of this mood is **@~ɾ+vagilg(a)-** and it translates as 'before'. When using this marker, a resulting **tv** cluster becomes **tf** unless preceded by a consonant in which case it becomes **f** (this is the same **@** pattern as with the postbase

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@~ɾ+**miqe**- above). The final (**a**) of this verb mood marker is not used if the subject is 3rd person. For the intransitive, the person/number markers are like those of relative case nouns, except that 2nd person is **vek** etc. rather than **pek** etc.(though the **p** form is used with the concessive mood). For the transitive the person/number marker consists of a subject part which is somewhat like the possessed relative case noun endings, followed by an object part which is like intransitive noun endings for 1st and 2nd person objects, is the series **k/gu, kek, ki** (as on the interrogative or optative) for 3rd person object, and is like the possessed absolutive case noun endings for 3R (3rd person Reflexive) object. With all the connective verb moods, 3R subject contrasts with 3rd person (non-reflexive) subject depending on whether or not the subject of the dependent verb is the same as the subject of the main verb. For transitive endings of the connective verb moods, 3R object contrasts with 3rd person (non-reflexive) object depending on whether or not the object of the dependent verb is the same as the subject of the main verb. The following examples should make this clear:

Neghtuq laalighfagilgan. 'He$_A$ ate before he$_B$ visited.' *(3rd person subject on precessive mood)*
Neghtuq laalighfagilgami. 'He$_A$ ate before he$_A$ visited.' *(3R subject on precessive mood)*
Neghtuq laalighfagilgagu. 'He$_A$ ate before he$_B$ visited him$_C$.' *(3rd person subject, 3rd person object on precessive mood)*
Neghtuq laalighfagilgamigu. 'He$_A$ ate before he$_A$ visited him$_B$.' *(3R subject, 3rd person object on precessive mood)*
Neghtuq laalighfagilgatni. 'He$_A$ ate before he$_B$ visited him$_A$.' *(3rd person subject, 3R object on precessive mood -- note that the subject indicator seems to be plural here; this is because several subsets of transitive endings for the connective moods have coalesced)*
Neghtuq laalighfagilgavek. 'He ate before you visited.'

Here is a selection of transitive person/number markers for the connective mood. Other markers can be synthesized by substitution from the ones given here.

agu	'he to him' *(non-reflexive subject & object)*
aki	'he to them' *(non-reflexive subject & object)*
anga	'he to me'
inkut	'he to us'
aten	'he to you$_1$'
isi	'he to you$_{pl}$'
atni	'he to him' *(non-reflex. sub.; reflex. obj.)*
isteng	'he to them' *(non-reflex. sub.; reflex. obj.)*
mkun	'I to him' *(non-reflexive object)*
mki	'I to them' *(non-reflexive object)*
mken	'I to you$_1$'
mni	'I to him' *(reflexive object)*
vgu	'you$_1$ to him' *(this ending is* **pegu** *for the*
fki	'you$_1$ to them' *concessive mood)*

vnga 'you$_1$ to me'
migu 'he to him' *(reflex. subject; non-reflex. obj.)*
minga 'he to me' *(reflex. subject)*
miten 'he to you$_1$' *(reflex. subject)*

Concessive mood:

The next connective mood examined here will be the *concessive* mood which has as its marker **-ghnga(agh)-** where the **(agh)** is not used with 3rd person subject endings. This mood translates as 'although', 'even though' or 'even if'.

Examples:

Neghtunga iyatanghiteghngaaghma. 'I ate even though I wasn't hungry'.

Qepghaghaquq qinuyugngaaghmi. 'He is working although he is sick.'

Exercises:

Parse the Yupik and translate into English:

1) Neghtunga pangeghfagilgama. 2) Sangavek iyataghsin negheghnaaghpek? 3) Ungipaateghngaaghpenga puywaaqa nuliighpek aatgha. 4) Quginakanka uyviinghet kaatfagilgata. 5) Esghaghaatunga retwhatmeng siilumeng. 6) Qikmighyugtunga kalilmeng. 7) Qavngaq kiyaghtetsi Ungazighmi? 8) Mekelghiiq aanumalghii mangteghameng amsikaghngaghngaaghmi. 9) Sarigpek amqeghhneghitaanga qilugngaaghminga.

Translate into Yupik:

1) Sweep the floor before you use the table. 2) I'm hungry even though I ate all the flounder. 3) They made him live in the cold house. 4) My sisters hairbeads are in your backpack. 5) His daughter envied his son because he had a wheeled vehicle. 6) I felt out of sorts even though lots of people lived in my house. 7) Don't be possessive of your food. 8) My brother's wife feels squeamish. 9) I always drink coffee before I hunt polar bears.

Write five sentences involving "emotional roots"

Write five sentences having verbs in the precessive or concessive moods (as well as main verbs in the indicative, optative, interrogative or participial moods)

Chapter 14

Consequential, conditional, and contemporative moods

Vocabulary:

aghyuugh-	to scold, to spank
alike-	to fear *(takes transitive endings)*
anuqligh-	to be windy
elqwaaq	kelp
eslalluk	rain
eslallugughte-	to rain *(takes transitive endings with an "impersonal" subject)*
ighaluqaq	aged auklet
igleghte-	to travel
iiw-	for tide to be low
kitugh-	to pass by
kusge-	squeamish, finicky *(emotional root)*
meghtagh-	to fetch water
mesungesak	killer whale
naghaagh-	to play
piyug-	to walk
qaame-	to go out (of a light, fire) *(intrans.)*
qaamte-	to extinguish, put out *(trans.)*
qanigughte-	to snow *(takes transitive endings with an "impersonal" subject)*
qaprag-	to move a short distance
ugpegh-	to believe

Postbases:

@~$_1$-ragkiigh-	to *V* quickly
@~:(ng)igate-	to never *V*; to not be *V*-ing

Enclitic:

+llu	and, also

Verb Mood Markers:

@~$_1$+y(a)-	when one *V*-ed *"consequential I" mood*
~+(g)aqng(a)-	while one was *V*-ing *"consequential II" mood*
@~-k(u)-/@~(g)k(u)-	if or when one *V*-s *"conditional" mood*
@-negh-	whenever one *V*-s *"contemporative" mood*

Discussion of postbases and enclitics:

The verb-elaborating postbase **@~$_1$-ragkiigh-** 'to *V* quickly' changes a resulting cluster **tr** to **rr** whether there is a consonant or a vowel before it.

Examples:

base	*with postbase and ending*
tagi- 'to come'	**tagiragkiightuq** 'he came quickly'
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghragkiighaa** 'he ate it quickly'
kaate- 'to arrive'	**kaarragkiightuq** 'he arrived quickly'
mumigte- 'to turn over'	**mumiggragkiightuq** 'it turned over quickly'
ukig- 'to go down'	**ukigragkiightuq** 'he went down quickly'

The verb-elaborating postbase **@~:(ng)igate-** means 'to never *V*' or 'to not be *V*-ing'. Thus, for action verbs it is the negation of the form with the postbase **~+(g)aqe-** (see Chapter 5; and compare the negation being discussed now with that indicated by the postbase **@-nghite-**, see Chapter 7). The postbase **@~:(ng)igate-** uses **(ng)** only with bases that end in a full vowel. It changes **te** on a base to **s**.

Examples:

base	*with postbase and ending*
qiya- 'to cry'	**qiyangigatuq** 'he doesn't cry; he isn't crying'
umughqaa- 'to have sleep paralysis'	**umughqaangigatuq** 'he never has sleep paralysis; he isn't having sleep paralysis'
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghigatiit** 'they don't eat them; they aren't eating them'
laalighte- 'to visit'	**laalighsigatuq** 'he doesn't visit; he isn't visiting'
qavagh- 'to sleep'	**qavaghigatuq** --> **qavaigatuq** --> **qaviigatuq** 'he doesn't sleep; he isn't sleeping'
gaagh- 'to cook'	**gaaghigatuq** 'he never cooks; he isn't cooking'
itegh- 'to enter'	**iitghigatuq** 'he never enters'

+llu is an *enclitic*, one of a small number of such morphemes which are distinguished from postbases and endings in that they go on after the ending of the word. **+llu** means 'and' and is used on both words in a conjunction, as in **yuuklu arnaqlu neghtuk** 'the man and the woman ate'. Sometimes **+llu** is better translated as 'also' as in **yuuklu neghtuq** 'the man is eating also'.

Discussion of grammatical topics:
Consequential I, consequential II, and conditional moods:

The *consequential I* mood has as its marker **@~$_{r}$+y(a)-** and can be translated as 'when (in the past) one *V*-ed'. The *consequential II* mood has as its marker **~+(g)aqng(a)-** and can be translated as 'while (in the past) one was *V*-ing'. The *conditional* mood has as its marker **@~-k(u)-/@-(g)k(u)-** and can be translated as 'if one *V*-s or when (in the future) one *V*-s'.

These are *connective* moods and so take the same person/number markers as the *precessive* and *concessive* discussed in Chapter 13.

The **(a)** and **(u)** of the consequential I, consequential II and the conditional are not used if the ending has a non-reflexive third person subject. The **y** of the consequential I combines with **te** of a base to give **s**, and, of course, changes to **s** after a stop consonant (followed by final **e**) on a base. The conditional will keep **t** of final **te** on a base as **t** or optionally change it to **s** if it follows a vowel, will keep it as **te** if it follows a consonant, but if the **te** is on a base which is descriptive or negative, then the **t** changes to **l**.

Examples:

base	*with consequential I*	*with conditional*
qiya-	**qiyayan** 'when he cried'	**qiyakan** 'when/if he cries'
kuuve-	**kuuvyan** 'when it spilled'	**kuufkan, kuuvegkan** 'when/if it spills'
taaqe-	**taaqsan** 'when he quit'	**taaqegkan** 'when/if he quits'
kaate-	**kaasan** 'when he arrived'	**kaatkan, kaaskan** 'when/if he arrives'
amqeghte-	**amqeghaan** 'when it bit'	**amqeghtekan** 'when/if it bites'
neghenghite-	**neghenghisan** 'when he didn't eat'	**neghenghilkan** 'when/if he doesn't eat'
ukig-	**ukigyan** 'when he descended'	**ukikan** 'when/if he descends'
mayugh-	**mayughyan** 'when he ascended'	**mayuqan** 'when/if he ascends'
itegh-	**iteghyan** 'when he entered'	**iitqan** 'when/if he enters'

The consequential II mood is really a combination of the postbase **~+(g)aqe-** and an old form of the consequential I. If necessary, for information on how that postbase, and therefore this mood marker, attaches to bases refer back to Chapter 5.

Contemporative mood:

The *contemporative mood* has as its marker **@-negh-** and can be translated as 'whenever'. The contemporative takes localis-like endings for the 3R intransitive (rather than relative-like endings) and has a remnant of this localis, **-ni-**, between subject and object markers for 3R subject transitives. [This is also a possibility with the conditional and perhaps other connective verb moods.] The main verb of a sentence with a dependent verb in the contemporative mood must have the postbase **~+(g)aqe-** meaning 'regularly' or the postbase **@~:(ng)igate-** meaning 'never'.

Examples:

Laalighhneghmini quyaaquq. 'Whenever he$_A$ visits he$_A$'s (regularly) happy.'
Laalighhneghan quyaaqunga. 'Whenever he visits I'm happy.
Laalighhneghminigu quyaaquq. 'Whenever he$_A$ visits her he$_A$'s happy.'
Laalighhneghagu quyaaqunga. 'Whenever he visits her I'm happy.'
Laalighhneghma quyangigatunga. 'Whenever I visit I'm not happy (never happy)'

Exercises:

Translate into English and parse the Yupik: 1) Taghnughhaq qapragllequq aqumgamakumi. 2) Ighneqa qiyaaq aghyuughyavgu. *(the 3R object form* aghyuughyavni *that one might expect, apparently does not exist)* 3) Iikwan elqwaaghniighelta. 4) Avaqutanka naghaaghaqut eslami anuqlighngaan. 5) Tagiiqngan alikaqa. 6) Iyataquvek neghigu ighaluqaq. 7) Piyugtukung eslallughteghngaan qayughllak ullghitapung naavumaftuq. 8) Aghvightesugiinkut

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iikwan. 9) Esghaghyagu quyaaq. 10) Esghaghyami(ni)gu quyaaq. 11) Esghaghyatni quyaaq. 12) Qavaghniinga laalightaqngavnga. 13) Taghnughhaq qiyaaq naani aanyan. 14) neghenghilkuvek iyataghllequten. 15) Qepghanghitunga iflayamkun repaka. 16) Quyallequnga kayusiquvnga. 17) Taghnughhaat quyaat atateng kaasan. 18) Esla seghleghuyan aanenghitunga. 19) Aanigatuq qayughllak alingeftuq qikmimeng. 20) Piyukuvek qergesek qelpeghtikek. 21) Qefliqutamken iflayavgu suflugaqa. 22) Qaviigatukung qikmiten qilunghata. 23) Aankufsi esghaallequsi ighaleqetaaghmeng. 24) Iyataghyamta neghtukut ighaluqaghmengllu akuutamengllu. 25) Akuzingigalkuvek Yupigestun ungipaatinga Laluramkestun. 26) Siivanlleghet nekevut aghulayugyameng. 27) Pinighsaghlleqaqa eglluk naavumakan. 28) Qepghaghaqunga qavaneghpek.

Write Yupik answers to the following questions (using the consequential and conditional moods if possible): 1) Qakun aghulaqlleqsin Sivuqaghmun? 2) Qavngaq ulghaaghsin? 3) Qavngaq naan kaata? 4) Qakun laalighlleqsinga? 5) Qakun nulughyugetsi?

Translate into Yupik: 1) If you use my needle don't lose it. 2) Eat the eggs if you don't want to eat bread. 3) If you pick salmonberries, I will make Eskimo ice cream. 4) The boy cried when his sister pinched him. 5) The elders were glad when I learned their names. 6) When it rained we came home. 7) He was laughing when I saw him. 8) I was scared when your dogs barked at me even though they didn't bite me. 9) The woman was happy when her husband arrived. 10) If you extinguish the light we will be able to see the stars and the moon through the window. 11) He walked when his three-wheeler broke down. 12) Don't eat it if you feel finicky. 13) The children played indoors while it was raining. 14) Whenever I eat aged auklet I get sick. 15) He didn't eat them when he was finicky about them. 16) Whenever I visit him he is glad. 17) Whenever I visit him he lets me eat kelp. 18) I asked my son to fetch water for his grandmother. 19) The children were afraid when the lights went out. 20) If they visit us they will eat meat aspic. 21) Whenever he sees me he laughs.

Chapter 15

Subordinative mood; half-transitive postbase

Vocabulary:

an'gigh-	to go outside for fresh air or exercise (of children usually)
aqumutak	chair *(dual)*
aate-	to put on (clothes)
aatkaq	garment, clothing
guygu	summer house, modern frame house
iglagtugh-	to speak loudly
kaaw-	to hit, to strike with an object
laag-	to dig
laluwaay	onion *(base:* laluwaaye-*)*
nenglu	semi-subterranean sod house
qavaghvik	bed, bedroom
quyngiq	reindeer
maligte-	to accompany
meghnugh-	to be tired
muutighvike-	to ask someone to do something for you
satelgaq	crane
sukangite-	to be slow
taslugh-	to hold hands with
tuqlugh-	to call to
uukaq	codfish
ulik	blanket
uqengestagh-	to be light
uqigtu-	to be heavy
wapaaqa	amanita, opium, hallucinogen
yaave-	to row

Postbases:

~$_f$+i-	to *V* something *(detransitivizing postbase, "half-transitive")*
~:(ng)ite-	to not have *N*
@~$_{sf}$+naanghite-	to not *V* in the future
@~$_f$+na-	in order to *V (used with subordinative mood endings)*

Verb Mood Markers:

@~$_f$+lu-	*V*-ing *"subordinative" mood marker*
@na-	*V*-ing *"subordinative" mood marker for negative* te-*ending verb bases*

plus person/number markers for these subordinatives

Discussion of postbases:

"Half-transitive" postbase and the grammatical background for it:

There are four different kinds of verb bases depending on the types of endings (transitive vs. intransitive) which they can take and on the relation between the meanings with these types of endings.

(1) *Intransitive-only* verb bases include descriptive verb bases such as **aange-** 'to be big', and also certain action verbs such as **qavagh-** 'to sleep' which take only intransitive endings.

(2) *Transitive-only* (or perhaps it would be better to call them transitive-*mostly*) are verb bases such as **tuqute-** 'to kill' which basically take only transitive endings (but may under some circumstances take an intransitive ending with a passive or reflexive meaning, as 'it is killed' or 'he killed himself' for **tuqutuq**).

(3) *Agentive* bases take both intransitive and transitive endings, and the subject stays the same when going from intransitive to transitive. An example of an agentive base is **negh<e>-** 'to eat'. In going from **neghtuq** 'he ate, he ate something' to **neghaa** 'he ate it', the subject stays the same; it is the person or animal eating.

(4) *Patientive* verb bases take both intransitive and transitive endings, and the subject of the intransitive becomes the object of the transitive when going from intransitive to transitive. An example of a patientive base is **kuuve-** 'to spill'. In going from **kuuvuq** 'it spilled' to **kuuvaa** 'he spilled it', the subject becomes the object; the liquid spilled is the subject of the intransitive but the object of the transitive.

English also has this type of division among verbs, however English and Yupik don't always work the same for a particular verbal concept (though they often do work the same as in the four examples above). A dictionary should indicate in some way which of these four categories each verb base fits in.

The verb-elaborating postbase ~ɣ+i- (which keeps base final **gh** even between single vowels and keeps semi-final **e**) is used with *transitive-only* and *patientive* verb bases and takes intransitive endings. It gives the meaning 'subject *V*-ed something'. The 'something' can be expressed as an indefinite object in the ablative-modalis case. This postbase has traditionally been called the "half-transitive" since it gives a sort of transitive meaning to an intransitive form (but no more so than an agentive verb gets when used with an intransitive ending and without this postbase -- so the name is a little presumptuous).

Examples:

verb base	*with postbase and ending*
kuuve- 'to spill'	**kuuviiq** 'he spilled something'
tuqute 'to kill'	**tuqutiiq** 'he killed something'
ifla- 'to lose'	**ifliiguq** 'he lost something'
umeg- 'to close'	**umegiiq** 'he closed something'
tukfigh- 'to buy'	**tukfighiiq** 'he bought something'

Yuuk ifkaghtiiq sagneghmeng. 'The man dropped a bowl (some bowls).

It is also possible to use the above postbase with *intransitive-only* and *agentive* bases, and also with transitive endings but this use is very limited and the meaning is somewhat different: 'to suffer something's *V*-ing'.

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Some patientive and transitive-only verb bases use the postbase **:(u)te-** (see Chapter 11) for the "half-transitive" rather than the above postbase. For example, **esghagh-** meaning 'to see' is transitive-only (when used directly with an intransitive ending the meaning is somewhat different, 'to open one's eyes'), and the "half-transitive" form is **esghaate-** 'to see something'; also, **tugu-** 'to take' is transitive-only and the "half-transitive" is **tugute-** 'to take something'.

Other postbases:

The verbalizing postbase **~:(ng)ite-** means 'to lack *N*' or 'to not have *N*'. The **(ng)** is used with vowel-ending bases.

Examples:

noun	*with postbase and ending*
apa 'grandfather'	**apangituq** 'he doesn't have a grandfather'
gguta 'tooth'	**gguutngituq** 'he doesn't have teeth'
ulaaq 'knife'	**ulaaghituq** 'he doesn't have a knife'
panik 'daughter'	**panigituq** 'he doesn't have daughter'
angyaq 'boat'	**angyiituq** 'he doesn't have a boat'
ateq 'name'	**aatghituq** 'it doesn't have a name'

The verb-elaborating postbase **@~ɾnaanghite-** is the future negative and may be translated by 'won't'. It goes on verb bases in the standard way that **n**-initial postbases do.

Examples:

verb base	*with postbase and ending*
negh<e>- 'to eat'	**neghnaanghituq** 'he won't eat'
tuqute- 'to kill'	**tuqunnaanghitaa** 'he won't kill it'
maligte- 'accompany'	**maliggnaanghitaa** 'he won't accompany her'
laag- 'to dig'	**laagnaanghituq** 'he won't dig'

The verb-elaborating postbase **@~ɾ+na-** 'in order to *V*' or 'intending to *V*', is used only with the subordinative mood which is discussed below.

Discussion of grammatical topics:

Subordinative mood:

In addition to the various *connective* verb moods, there is one more dependent verb mood in Yupik; this is the *subordinative* mood. It differs from the connective moods in that basically the subject of a verb in the subordinative is the same as the subject of the main verb of the sentence. In view of this, it would be sufficient if transitive forms had person/number markers only for the object and if intransitive forms had no person/number marker at all. For the transitive, this is in fact the case, but the intransitive forms do have (however redundantly) person/number markers for the subject.

The subordinative mood marker is **@~ɾ+lu-** which combines with

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base final **te** to give **ll**.

An action indicated by a verb in the subordinative mood is something after doing which the subject (that is, joint subject of both verbs) does the action indicated by the main verb. The subordinative can thus be translated by 'after *V*-ing'. The subordinative, as we shall see, doesn't always mean 'after', but this translation is often apt and it will serve for now.

Examples with 3rd person sing. intransitive person/number marker:

base	*with subordinative ending*
tagi- 'to come'	**tagiluni** 'after coming in, after he (the subject of the main verb) came in'
aane- 'to go out'	**aanluni** 'after going out'
taaqe- 'to quit'	**taaqluni** 'after quitting'
kaate- 'to arrive'	**kaalluni** 'after arriving'
ingaghte- 'to lie down'	**ingaghlluni** 'after lying down'
itegh- 'to go in'	**iteghluni** 'after going in'

As can be seen from the above set of examples, the 3rd person singular intransitive person/number marker is **ni** which is the same as the 3R (3rd person Reflexive) possessed absolutive singular noun ending. Below is a complete list of the subordinative intransitive person/number markers that go after the mood marker.

ni	'he, she, it'
tek	'they$_2$'
teng	'they$_{pl}$'
nga	'I'
tung	'we$_2$'
ta	'we$_{pl}$'
ten	'you$_1$'
tek	'you$_2$'
si	'you$_{pl}$'

Examples showing the use of the subordinative intransitive:

Aanuq neghluni. 'He went out after eating.'
Sazin aanluten? 'What did you do after you went out?'
Ingaghlluteng qavaghtut. 'After lying down they slept.'
Pilugugluta aanukut 'After putting on clothes we went out.'

The subordinative transitive person/number markers that go after the mood markers are:

ku	'subject (of main verb) to him, her, it'
kek	'subject to them$_2$'
ki	'subject to them$_{pl}$'
nga	'subject to me'
nung	'subject to us$_2$'
ta	'subject to us$_{pl}$'
ten	'subject to you$_1$'
tek	'subject to you$_2$'
si	'subject to you$_{pl}$'

Examples showing the use of the subordinative transitive:

Neghluku kemekrak aanuq. 'After eating the meat he went out.'
Neghluku kemekrak aanunga. 'After eating the meat I went out.'
Inghuluki pagunghaat neghii. 'After picking the berries he ate them.

Observe that the 1st and 2nd person object transitive forms are just like the 1st and 2nd person subject intransitive forms. Whether one of these subordinative endings, such as **luta**, is transitive or intransitive can be determined by keeping in mind the fundamental principle of the subordinative mood: the subject of the verb in the subordinative is the same as the subject of the main verb.

Examples:

Laalighlluta aghulaqukut. 'After visiting we left.' *(here the subordinative is intransitive, since its person/number marker is 1st person plural corresponding to the 1st person plural main verb and thus is the marker of the subject of an intransitive subordinative rather than of the object of a transitive subordinative; this sentence corresponds to the pair of sentences* **Laalightukut. Aghulaqukut.** 'We visited. We went out.' *observe: the first sentence is intransitive)*

Laalighlluta aghulaquq. 'After visiting us he left.' *(here the subordinative is transitive because its person/number marker is 1st person plural and the main verb has a 3rd person singular subject so the subordinative must also have a 3rd person singular subject (unmarked) and 1st person plural must refer to the object of the transitive subordinative; this sentence corresponds to the pair of sentences* **Laalightiinkut. Aghulaquq.** 'He visited us. He went out. *observe: the first sentence is transitive)*

The implication that the event expressed by the main verb occurs after that expressed by the verb in the subordinative holds only if the verb in the subordinative is an *action* verb. This is in line with the fact that an action verb unmarked by a time-fixing postbase implies past-time action (see Chapter 3).

If the verb in the subordinative is a *descriptive* verb, than the condition it describes applies to the action or state indicated by the main verb.

Examples:

Piyugaquq sukalluni. 'He is walking fast.'
Akuziiq iglagtughluni. 'He spoke loudly.'

If the postbase **@~:(i/u)ma-** (see Chapter 11) is used with verb in the subordinative, then the subordinative indicates an action occuring at the same time as the action of the main verb (despite the fact that this postbase in the usually implies past-time !).

Compare this with constructions formed with **@~:(i/u)magh*** and the *independent relative* (see Chapter 12).

Examples:

Qepghaghtunga neghumaluku iqalluk. 'I worked while eating the fish.'

Aghulaquq maligsimaluku atani. 'He left accompanying his father.'

Aanuq qiyamaluni. 'He went out crying.'

The postbase **@~ɾ+na-** 'in order to *V*, intending to *V*' is used only with the subordinative.

Examples:

Ingaghtuq qavaghnaluni. 'He lay down in order to sleep.'

Kaawii tuqunnaluki. 'He hit them in order to kill them.'

Tagiiq laalighhnaluten. 'He came in order to visit you.'

Compound-verbal postbases, such as **@~ɾ+ni-** 'to say' and **~(e):sqe-** 'to ask' can be used with the subordinative.

Examples:

Ungipaataanga aghulaqniluten. 'He told me that you left.'
(literally: 'He told me, saying that you left.')

Muutighvikaqa kayusiitesqellunga. 'I told him to help me.'
(literally: 'I told him, asking that someone (he) should help me.'

There is a special form of the subordinative marker for use with base plus negative postbase combinations ending in **te**. The marker of this special form is **@na-**, rather than **@~ɾ+lu-** , and the **te** in question is dropped.

This form is not used directly with the common negative postbase **@-nghite-** 'to not *V*'; instead another postbase (found only with the subordinative), **-gpe-** substitutes for **@-nghite-** and then the special subordinative marker is used. The English word 'without' usually gives a suitable translation for the combination of negative and special subordinative.

Examples:

base	*with subordinative ending*
neghenghite- 'to not eat'	**neghegpenani** 'without eating' *(from base plus substitute postbase:* **neghegpe-***)*
qavanghite- 'to not sleep'	**qavaghpenani** 'without sleeping'

This special subordinative marked by **@na-** takes the usual person/number markers of the subordinative except for the 2nd person singular subject intransitive and 2nd person singular object transitive which is **ng** rather than **ten** as used with the usual subordinative marker **@~ɾ+lu-**, and the 3rd person singular object transitive which is **an** rather than **ku** as used with the

usual subordinative marker.

Examples:

Aanuq neghegpenani. 'He went out without eating.' *(like* **aanuq neghluni** 'he went out after eating.')

Aanuten neghegpenang. 'You went out without eating' *(unlike* **aanuten neghluten** 'you went out after eating')

Neghaqa gaaghpenaan. 'I ate it without cooking it.' *(unlike* **neghaqa gaaghluku** 'I ate it after cooking it')

Neghanka gaaghpenaki. 'I ate them without cooking them.' *(like* **neghanka gaaghluki** 'I ate them after cooking them')

The special subordinative marked by **@na-** is not used directly with **~:(ng)ite-** 'to lack *N*' either, but rather with an altered form of it, **-ngute-**, or, since the **te** will drop, **-ngu-**. With this postbase only intransitive endings are used. The person/number marker for the 2nd person singular subject intransitive is **ng** as above, but the 3rd person singular object intransitive is **an** rather than **ni** as above.

Examples:

Aanunga nasaperangunanga. 'I went out without a hat.' *(like* **aanunga neghlunga** 'I went out after eating', *and like* **aanunga neghegpenanga** 'I went out without eating')

Aanuten nasaperangunang. 'You went out without a hat.' *(like* **aanuten neghegpenang** 'you went out without eating'; *but unlike* **aanuten neghluten** 'you went out after eating')

Aanuq nasaperangunaan. 'He went out without a hat.' *(unlike* **aanuq neghluni** 'he went out after eating', *and unlike* **aanuq neghegpenani** 'he went out without eating'; *but like* **aanuq neghegpenaan** 'he went out without eating it')

Aanut nasaperangunateng. 'They went out without hats.' *(like* **aanut neghegpenateng** 'they went out without eating', *and like* **aanut neghluteng** 'they went out after eating')

A second use of the subordinative, but only with a second person subject ending, is as a substitute for the optative mood to make commands or requests. For example, **neghluten** 'eat!' and **aqumegpenang** 'don't sit down!'.

Because of the fundamental limitation on the subordinative mood (that the subject of the subordinative must be the same as the subject of the main verb), there is a problem if it is someone or something other than than the subject of the main verb doing an action after which the action indicated by the main verb occurs. One way to deal with this problem is by abandoning the subordinative for one of the connective moods (see Chapters 13 and 14), which do not have this limitation, and rephrasing the sentence accordingly.

Example:

Aanunga taghnughhaq taaqsan neneghmeng. 'I went out after

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the boy ate.' *(literally:* 'I went out when the boy finished the act of eating.' *(here* **@-neq** *is a nominalizing postbase meaning* 'the act of *V*-ing'); *compare:* **Aanunga neghlunga** 'I went out after I ate')

However, sometimes the subordinative mood can be used and the limitation upon it circumvented with what might be considered a "zero" or "hidden" subject-adjusting postbase which functions similar to the compound-verbal postbases.

Examples:

(1) **Esghaghaqa qavaamaluku.** 'I saw him sleeping.' *(that is,* 'I saw him, (seeing) him sleeping' *where the "hidden" postbase between* **qavaama** *and* **luku** *in combination with the subordinative means* '(I) seeing him *V*')

(2) **Aanunga taghnughhaq neghumaluku.** 'I went out while the child ate.' *(that is,* 'I went out (going out while) the child ate' *where the "hidden" postbase between* **neghuma** *and* **luku** *in combination with the subordinative means* '(I) going out while he *V*-ed')

Compare (2) above to (3) below which has the same surface grammatical structure:

(3) **Aanunga neqekrak neghumaluku.** 'I went out eating the bread.' *(where there is no "hidden" postbase so that* **neghumaluku** *means* '(I) eating it')

Two observations are in order here. First, there must be a postbase like **@:(i/u)ma-** between base and subordinative endings in sentences like (1) or (2) in order for there to also be the "hidden" postbase. As discussed above, an alternative construction other than the subordinative must be used to express things like "I went out after the child ate"; if one says **aanunga taghnughhaq neghluku** it will only mean 'I went out after eating the child'. Second, it seems preferable to explain (1) and (2) in terms of a "hidden" subject-adjusting postbase, rather than to say that in (2) the **luku** ending is a 3rd person non-reflexive intransitive ending, and that the subject of the subordinative need not be the same as the subject of the main verb. However, it may be that the language is heading toward this; that in the future we will have to say that the limitation requiring the subject of the subordinative verb to be the same as that of the main verb no longer holds, and that **ku** which has always been an object-marking morpheme has become a non-reflexive subject-marking morpheme.

In one particular type of construction the compound-verbal postbase **+(te)ste-** 'to let one V' (see Chapter 9) is used, rather than the "zero" postbase, as a subject-adjuster, and in this type of construction the compound-verbal postbase adds no meaning but serves solely as a grammatical device.

Examples:

Aanunga neghestegpenaki. 'I went out before they ate.' *(where the compound verbal postbase functions solely as a formal subject-adjuster; in this interpretation this construction is an alternative to the use of the precessive mood (Chapter 13):* **Aanunga neghvagilgata.** *which has the same meaning), or* 'I went out without letting them eat.' *(where the construction has its literal meaning)*

Iteghtunga aqlaghaghtestegpenaan. 'I went in before it got cold.' *(literally* 'I went in without letting it get cold.'; *note that interpretation according to the literal meaning is impossible, so the construction takes only the non-literal meaning; furthermore, this construction is preferred to the use of the precessive mood:* **Iteghtunga aqlaghaghfagilgan.** *which would also mean* 'I went in before it got cold.'*)*

Exercises:
Translate the following into English and parse the Yupik: 1) Aakaqa estugaghtuq yavluni tasluumaluku tukfighinaluni laluwaaymeng. 2) Nanevgaq piyugumaluni aghulaqumalghii naayvamun eltughani maligsimaluku. 3) Iyataghyama neghaqa satelgam kemekraga gaaghpenaan. 4) Apama atanga kiyaghtaqngan Ungazighmi yuget nenglulguftut mangteghangunateng. 5) Aghnalqwaaghem ungipaataanga an'gighniluten. 6) Aarragkiighluku atkuni taghnughhasqughhaq aanuq esghaghnaluki aqelqat kaallghiit tengegkayugkun. 7) Meghnughngaaghmeng yuget igleghtaqut yaavumaluteng ivenruutek naavumayayek. *(you can guess, if you don't already know, what English word* ivenruutek *comes from)* 8) Naagpek tugusugii aatkaten eflugameng llilukillu aqumutagnun. 9) Quyillget neghaqut quyngimeng Laluramket neghumaluki uukameng. 10) Ungipaataanga yuget kiyaghneghinniluki guyguni taghnughhaawaqngami. 11) Aqelqat aghulaqut kaatestegpenata.

Translate into Yupik: 1) After turning the stove off, I put my hat on top of it. 2) Without telling us the boy went outside to play even though it was windy. 3) After putting on their parkas the men went to the lake to ice-fish. 4) Why did you drop the lamp making it break? 5) He told me that my wife lost his wife's needles. 6) Even though its cold outside my son is playing out without wearing his hat. 7) Using my spoon the child ate the meat aspic. 8) Not wanting to work he told us that he was sick. 9) He arrived from Gambell walking and tired. 10) Speaking loudly he told me that the crane was was heavy and slow.

Write ten sentence utilizing the subordinative mood.

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Chapter 16

Demonstratives and personal pronouns

The vocabulary for this chapter is the demonstrative system:

	extended	*restricted*	*obscured*
over — *nearer*	**--/awani**	**iigna/ingani**	**aamna/amani**
over — *farther*	**aagna/agani**	**iikna/ikani**	**akemna/akmani**
up	**paagna/pagani**	**piikna/pikani**	**paamna/pamani**
down — *below*		**kaana/kanani**	**saamna/samani**
down — *toward exit*	**unegna/un'gani**	**uugna/ugani**	**sakemna/sakmani**
in/out — *inside*	**qaawna/qawani**	**kiiwna/kiwani**	**qaamna/qamani**
in/out — *outside*	**qaagna/qagani**	--	**qakemna/qakmani**
here	**maana/maani**	**una/whani**	**iimna/imani**
near, coming	--	**uukna/ukani**	--

Demonstratives:

Demonstratives are words which locate an object by its position with respect to the speaker. English has demonstrative *pronouns*, "this" and "that" (and their plurals, "these" and "those") and demonstrative *adverbs*, "here" (corresponding to the pronoun "this") and "there" (corresponding to "that"). Yupik likewise has demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs. On the chart, the demonstratives to the left of "/" are the pronouns (for example **iigna** 'that one over there') and those to the right of "/" are the corresponding adverbs (for example **ingani** 'over there, in the area over there').

Demonstratives in the extended *column* are used for things or areas which are spread out, lengthy, or moving (across the field of view of the speaker). Those in the *restricted* column are used for things or areas which are within sight of the speaker, and stationary (or moving in a restricted area). Those in the *obscured column* are used for things or areas which are not visible to the speaker (or not clearly visible).

The maximum degree of regularity of form on this chart is to be found in the *obscured* column, with some regularity but considerable deviation from it in the other two columns. In the obscured column (and somewhat less so in the other columns) demonstratives that pertain to being "over" a lesser or greater distance from the speaker start with no consonant, those that pertain to being "up" from the speaker start with **p**, those that pertain to being "down" either below or toward an exit start with **s**, those that pertain to being "inside" or "outside" in some sense start with **q**.

The bottom two rows on the chart, "here" and "near or coming" don't quite fit the pattern of **(C)aamna/(C)amani** ...

(C)akemna/(C)akmani (where **(C)** is **Ø**, **p**, **s**, or **q**) as in the "over", "down", and "in/out" rows.

As for the "up" row, it seems that half of it is missing (there ought to be another row of "up" demonstratives), and in fact in Siberia there are the forms **piigna/pingani** and **pakemna/pakmani** which would help fill the gap.

In each of the double rows (that is the rows for "over", "down" and "in/out") the upper row (the ones with **aamna**, **saamna**, and **qaamna**) are for things or areas that are more accessible in a vague way than those in the lower row (the ones with **akemna**, **sakemna**, **qakemna**).

A number of these demonstratives have specialized meanings which in some cases eclipse the general or abstract meaning as displayed on the chart:

iikna/ikani can also mean 'south' (it is not used much in Savoonga)
paamna/pamani can also mean 'Siberia' or 'north'.
sakemna/sakmani can also mean 'west', or 'toward Gambell from Savoonga or the Alaskan mainland'
uugna/ugani can also mean 'west', or 'northwest'
kiiwna/kiwani can also mean 'toward Savoonga from Gambell'
qaawna/qawani can also mean 'northeast'
iimna/imani means 'the thing/area whose identity is known to speaker and listener, the aforementioned thing/area'

The demonstrative *pronouns* act like nouns. They can be subjects, objects, and possessors (so they can be put in the absolutive and relative cases) and can be put in *oblique* cases, such as the terminalis, as well. They can be singular, plural or dual. They can function by themselves or in apposition to other nouns so that one can say, for example, **iigna qilugtuq** 'that one barked' or **iigna qikmiq qilugtuq** 'that dog barked'. However, demonstrative pronouns do not take possessive endings and can be used with relatively few postbases. Demonstrative adverbs, on the other hand, being basically locations rather than things, cannot be subjects, objects, or possessors, have no singular - plural - dual distinction and also do not take possessors. Demonstrative adverbs can only be put in the oblique cases.

For a given demonstrative one can determine what could be called its *basic* base. From this basic base, (1), come: (2) the singular absolutive pronoun form ending in **na** (which is the citation form for the demonstrative pronouns on the chart above), (3) a singular non-absolutive pronoun base (from which are derived singular relative, terminalis, etc. pronouns), (4) a non-singular pronoun base (from which are derived dual and plural pronouns in all cases), (5) a *vocative* form used for calling to someone, and (6) an adverb base (from which are derived adverbs in the localis and terminalis cases (always), and in the other cases (sometimes)). By itself, the adverb base (6) is used as an *adverbial particle* to call attention to the area in question.

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For demonstratives adverbs the localis case ending, **ni**, (which is used on the citation forms for demonstrative adverbs on the chart above) is like the regular localis plural as used for ordinary nouns and demonstrative pronouns, but the other oblique case endings take special forms with demonstrative adverbs. The terminalis is **vek** instead of **mun/nun**, the vialis is **gun** or **ggun** instead of **kun/tgun**, and the ablative-modalis is **ken** instead of **meng/neng**. Only a few demonstratives have aequalis forms, ending in **ten**.

With demonstrative basic bases of the form **(C$_1$)VC$_2$-** where **C$_2$** is **g** or **w**, the ablative-modalis ending **ken**, and **ggun** (which will drop the final **g** or **w**) for vialis are used on the lengthened basic base rather than on the adverb base (6), and optionally so where **C$_2$** is **n**, **ng** or **m**. With basic bases ending in **k**, **egken** is used for ablative-modalis on the unlengthened basic base.

For each demonstrative there are pronoun and adverb forms, (7) and (8), constructed by adding a prefix **ta** and variants, which is in fact the only prefix in Eskimo, to the regular demonstrative pronoun and adverb forms. This prefix is used for *anaphora* (reference to something refered to before or known to person spoken to), *emphasis* or *specificity*. However for the "here" row of demonstratives the prefix shifts the frame of reference from speaker to person spoken to, from "here" to "there".

Examples:
(1) **am-**
(2) **aamna** 'that one over there not in sight'
(3) **amu-** as in **amumi** 'in that one over there not in sight'
(4) **aamyuq** 'hey you over there not in sight'
(5) **aamku-** as in **aamkut** 'those over there not in sight'
(6) **ama-** in **amani** '(at) over there not in sight' (localis), **amavek** 'to over there not in sight' (terminalis), **amagun** or **aamggun** 'through over there not in sight' (vialis), **amaken** or **aamken** 'from over there not in sight' (ablative-modalis), and as an *adverbial particle*, **ama** 'over there not in sight!' *or* 'also' *(lexicalized)*
(7) **taamna** 'that one over there not in sight'
(8) **taamani** ' (at) over there not in sight'

In the above set of examples, the vowel of the initial syllable is lengthened in (2), (4) and (5) evidently to keep stress on the stem -- the same reason **e** hopping occurs elsewhere. However this lenthening doesn't occur in the other forms. The double **a** in (7) and (8) is from the **ta** prefix.

The pattern of the above example is followed generally by all the demonstratives with exceptions and/or subpatterns illustrated below.

(1) **ing-**
(2) **iigna** (not ***iingna**) 'the one over there (restricted)'
(3) **ingu-** as in **ingumi**
(4) **iingyuq**
(5) **iingku-** as in **iingkut**

(6) **inga-** in **ingani** (localis), **ingavek** (terminalis), but **iing'ggun** (vialis) and **iingken** (ablative-modalis)
(7) **tazigna** (the form of the prefix for an **i**-initial base is **taz**)
(8) **tazingani**

(1) **qakm-**
(2) **qakemna** 'the one outside (obscured)' (no initial syllable lengthening with this nor with **akemna**, nor with **sakemna**)
(3) **qakmu-** as in **qakmumi**
(4) **qakemyuq**
(5) **qakemku-** as in **qakemkut**
(6) **qakma-** in **qakmani**, **qakmavek**, **qakmagun**, and **qakmaken**
(7) **tesqakemna, esqakemna** (the form of the prefix for a consonant initial base is **tes** or a shortened form of the prefix,**es**)
(8) **tesqakmani, esqakemna**

(1) **kan-**
(2) **kana** 'the one down below (restricted)' (**kan-** plus **na** yield only one **n**)
(3) **kanu-** as in **kanumi**
(4) **kaanyuq**
(5) **kaanku-** as in **kaankut**
(6) **kana-** in **kanani**, **kanavek**, but **kaan'ggun**, and **kaanken** or **kanaken**
(7) **teskana, eskana**
(8) **teskanani, eskanani**

(1) **ug-**
(2) **uugna** 'the one down toward exit (restricted)'
(3) **ugu-** as in **ugumi**
(4) **uugyuq**
(5) **uugku-** as in **uugkut**
(6) **uga-** as in **ugani**, **ugavek**, but **uuggun** and **uugken**
(7) **taawna** (from underlying **taugna**)
(8) **taawani**

(1) **un'g-**
(2) **unegna** 'the one down there at/on the water (extended)' (first syllable not lengthened)
(3) **un'gu-** as in **un'gumi**
(4) **unegyuq**
(5) **unegku-** as in **unegkut**
(6) **un'ga-** in **un'gani**, **un'gavek**, but **uun'ggun** and **unegken**
(7) **taanegna** (from underlying **taunegna**)
(8) **taan'gani**

(1) **u-**
(2) **una** 'this (thing or immediate place)' (first syllable not lengthened)
(3) **uu-** as in **uumi** 'in this'
(4) **uuyuq** '(hey) you, here'
(5) **uku-** as in **ukut** 'these'
(6) **wha-** in **whani** 'here, in this immediate place' (the formation of this adverb is irregular), **whavek**, **whagun**,

whaken, and also **whaten** 'like this' (aequalis)
(7) **taana** 'that one near you' (from underlying **tauna**)
(8) **tawani** 'there near you', etc., also **tawaten** 'like that' (aequalis)

(1) **ma(t)-**
(2) **maani** 'this village, land, area'
(3) **matu-** as in **matumi** 'in this area'
(4) no vocative for this demonstrative
(5) **maaku-** as in **maakut** 'those areas'
(6) **maa-** in **maani** 'here, in this area', **maavek**, **maagun**, **maaken**, also **maaten** just now (aequalis)
(7) **tamana** 'that area where you are'
(8) **tamaani** 'there where you are'

(1) **uk-**
(2) **uukna** 'the one coming, nearby'
(3) **uku-** as in **ukumi**
(4) **uuksuq**
(5) **ukegku-** as in **ukegkut** (likewise **ikegkut** from **iikna** and **pikegkut** from **piikna**)
(6) **uka-** in **ukani**, **ukavek**, **ukagun**, but **ukegken**
(7) **taakwna** (from underlying **taukna**)
(8) **taakwani**

The interrogative word **kina** 'who' (Chapter 8) inflects somewhat like a demonstrative pronoun: its localis is **kitumi**, its plural **kinkut**, etc. It has no adverb forms nor forms with the prefix **ta**.

The interrogative word **nani** 'where' (Chapter 8) inflects somewhat like a demonstrative adverb: **nani** is localis, **navek** 'to where', is terminalis, and **naken** 'from where', is ablative-modalis. It has an aequalis form, **naten** with the lexicalized meaning, 'how' (see Vocabulary of Chapter 8). It has no pronoun forms nor forms with the prefix **ta**.

Personal pronouns:

Yupik has *personal pronouns* ("I", "we", "you", "he/she/it", "they") but they aren't nearly as vital in this language as they are in English. This is because the noun and verb endings of Yupik fill the role such pronouns do in English. The Yupik personal pronouns are used for emphasis or when the verb ending doesn't give the required information, for example the subject of an embedded transitive verb. Some of the more common personal pronouns are shown here:

absolutive/relative	*terminalis*
whanga 'I, me'	**whangamnun** '(to) me'
whangkutung 'we$_2$, us$_2$'	**whangkutegnun** '(to) us$_2$'
whangkuta 'we$_{pl}$, us$_{pl}$'	**whangkunnun** '(to) us$_{pl}$'
elpek 'you$_1$'	**elpenun** '(to) you$_1$'
elpesi 'you$_{pl}$'	**elpesinun** '(to) you$_{pl}$'
	ellminun '(to) himself'
	ellmeggnun '(to) themselves'

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The remaining cases (such as ablative-modalis, aequalis, etc.) are formed similarly to the terminalis. There are non-reflexive 3rd person pronouns (in contrast to **ellminun, ellmeggnun** which are reflexive), but these are not as common as those given above, and there are absolutive/relative forms of **ellminun** and **ellmeggnun** but they are not often used. A complete table of personal pronouns can be found in Appendix III.

Examples showing use of personal pronouns:

Whangallu iyataghtunga. 'I too am hungry.' *(personal pronoun used for emphasis)*

Elpenun angyani tukfightesugaa. 'He wants you to buy his boat.' *(personal pronoun used for subject of embedded transitive verb)*

Esghaghtuq ellmineng. 'He saw himself.' *(personal pronoun used to form a reflexive)*

Exercises:

Select Yupik demonstrative pronouns for each of the following:

1) a boat at the beach down by the water 2) a boat out on the water that you can see from the shore 3) the person in the room upstairs from you 4) a fish swimming where you can see it under the ice on which you are standing 5) a duck on the pond seen from the edge where you are standing 6) a group of ducks all together on the pond 7) a number of ducks scattered over the surface of the pond 8) someone out in the porch where you can't see them from where you are inside the house 9) someone you can see nearer to the door than you who are in the middle of the room 10) someone you can see further back in the room than you are 11) a thing held in your hand 12) the room or house you are in 13) the house where the person who you are calling on the phone is 14) a person seen up on the hillside 15) an airplane flying overhead 16) something inside a closed box 17) the area outside

Translate the following into English:

1) Qawaak espagna guutigu. 2) Sangaawa pugimalghii un'gani? 3) Tagitiki salngaget uugken llilukillu kiwavek. 4) Sangan whani aqlaghata? 5) Qavanghitunga qayughllak paamna iglagtughtuq. 6) Naama ungipaataanga atani esghaanniluku kayngemeng kiyaghtaqngami imani. 7) Kitum qikmii qilugaqa pikani? 8) Amaa aagken tagimalghii neghnaluku nefkuuraq. 9) Aqelqat aghulaqellequt sakmavek unaami. 10) Taakum amqeghhnaqaanga qiluglunga. 11) Qagani taghnughhaat naghaaghaqut. 12) Qaamna keniq qaamumalghii qergesek qelpeghsafkek. 13) Igleghtekuvek kanumeng angyameng atughluten alingellequten. 14) Ukigutigu nasaperaqa paamna. 15) Piyugeltung paaggun. 16) Naafqaqa suflugen tukfiqen estugameng tamaani. 17) Espamani naayghani esghaatunga sikigmeng uglalghiimeng. 18) Tazingkut afsengaat papelguut takestaaghaghmeng. 19) Igna Quyillek kaallghii ighivgaq paamken kalileghrugllalguuq. 20) Sangami taghnughhaq tagiiqa qiyamaluni taagken? 21) Yugem pikum ungipaataanga whangkunnun kayusiitesugniluten. 22) Kaanyuq, naten mayughlleqsin whavek? 23) Taan'gani meq sikumalghii. 24) Naakallu nengyunllu pagavek aghulaquk inghunalutek pagunghaghmeng eslallugughteghngaan. 25)

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Awani esghaatukung riightemeng. 26) Pikegken qayuusiq ifkaghtuq naavuqlu. 27) Ingani inghwaaqngama manigmeng naalkutunga.

Write ten sentences each having a demonstrative pronoun, a demonstrative adverb, or a personal pronoun:

Chapter 17

1st person subject and 3rd person optatives; verbs used as nouns in oblique cases; numerals; future optatives; participial-oblique mood

Vocabulary:

aki	other side, equivalent, price, value
akmaneghpalluq	camel
alla	again *(particle)*
aapte-	to ask
enkaam	then, furthermore *(particle)*
entaqun	maybe, perhaps, probably, I think, I guess *(particle)*
esghavyu	gray dog
iwernga	however, but then *(particle)*
kaleve-	to sink
kamagraq	elephant
kiighwyaq	aurora *(usually used in plural)*
kukupak	ribbon seal
naapte-	to catch with net or trap
piyaa-	to take a walk
qallevak	overalls *(usually dual for one pair)*
qalqalima	axe
qamagte-	to go through all, for all to be done
qavaa-	to be asleep *(the base is actually* qavau-*)*
qenwat	finally, consequently *(particle)*
qimugsiq	dog team
qimugsigh-	to go via dog team
quta	land seen from water
Ruuseghmii	Russian
siqlugaq	meat cellar
yugayu, yuwayu	loon
yuqeghte-	to go outside to check the weather

Postbases:

~-ke-	to have as one's *N*
:(u)ta^{e}, :(u)ta	condition with respect to *V*-ing
+te-	to act on so as to cause to *V*
@~$_{f}$+vik	place to *V*

Endings:

selected 1st and 3rd person subject optative endings

Discussion of postbases:

The verbalizing postbase **~-ke-** means 'subject has object as his *N*'. For example, **taghnughhaam naakaa aghnaq** 'the child has the woman as his mother', or in more natural English, though obscuring which noun is the subject and which noun is the object, 'the woman is the child's mother', or, in less natural English, but more parallel to the Yupik, 'the child has-as-mother the woman'. Another example is **taana qikmiqaqa** 'that is my dog', where **taana** is the object and the subject is the "I" component of the verb ending.

The nominalizing postbase **:(u)ta^{e}, :(u)ta** uses **(u)** with all verb bases that end in **e** or in a consonant (that is, with all

verb bases except those that end in a full vowel), and its second version is used with third person possessor endings, the first version being used otherwise. When used with a possessed ending it can yield a noun meaning 'condition of possessor with respect to his/her/its act or state of *V*-ing'. (It also has historically formed nouns meaning 'device for *V*-ing', for example, **guututa** 'weapon' from **guute-** 'to shoot', but another postbase, **:(u)siq**, is used nowadays to form such instrumental nouns.) When used for 'condition with respect to *V*-ing', this postbase takes the absolutive case even though it is being used for neither the subject of an intransitive verb nor the object of a transitive verb; such a use of the absolutive may be called the *absolutive of condition about which* since it indicates a condition about which questions are asked.

Examples:

Aaptaanga kaasimaten. 'He asked me whether you had arrived.' *(the postbase in question here is merely the* **te** *since the expanded base* **kaasima-** *ends in a full vowel; the absolutive ending is* **~ɹɾ%(e)n** 'your --'*)*

Aaptaanga qavngaq yugem kaasimatanga. 'He asked me when the man arrived.' *(here the absolutive ending is* **:(ng)a** *used with the second version of the postbase;* **yugem** *is the possessor of* **kaasimatanga***)*

Aaptaanga qakun aghulaqnaquten. 'He asked me when you would leave.' *(here the postbase in question is* **ute***)*

Aaptaanga iyataaten. 'He asked me if you were hungry.' *(here the postbase in question is* **ate** *from* **ute** *by vowel dominance; the lack of a past or future postbase here shows that the asking concerned whether or not you were hungry at the time that the asking occurred)*

With this postbase, nominalizing though it is, the verbal character of the embedded verb remains to some extent as the following examples show:

Aaptaanga neghumaten iqalluk. 'He asked me whether you had eaten the fish.' *(here* **iqalluk** *is absolutive as the object of the embedded transitive verb* **neghumaan** 'you ate it'*; note that the possessor of* **neghumaten** *agrees with the subject, 'you', of the embedded verb)*

Aaptaanga elpenun neghumatanga iqalluk. 'He asked me whether it was you who had eaten the fish'. *(here* **elpenun** *is terminalis as the subect of the embedded transitive verb; note that the possessor of* **neghumaten** *agrees with the object, 'it -- the fish', of the embedded verb)*

The verb-elaborating postbase **+te-** (not to be confused with the similarly appearing verbalizing postbase which means 'to catch *N*, to go to *N*) is used with a large number of verb bases which are intransitive-only without the postbase, and transitive-only (or mostly) with it. For example, from **tuqu-** 'to die', from **ifkagh-** 'to fall', and from **kaleve-** 'to sink' have come **tuqute-** 'to kill', **ifkaghte-** 'to drop', and **kalefte-** 'to (cause to) sink'

respectively. Thus this postbase can be translated as 'to act on so as to cause to *V*' (for example, "to kill" is "to act on so as to cause to die"). However, this is not a postbase that can be productively used to create new bases. There are some bases which do not require this postbase, getting the meaning it would give by use of a transitive ending directly on the base (for example, **ifla-** 'to get lost', used with a transitive ending put directly on the base means 'to act on so as to cause to get lost, to lose'), and some bases use a different postbase to get the meaning the postbase in question would give (for example, **naave-** 'to get broken' uses another postbase, **+qe-**, to give a form, **naafqe-**, which takes transitive endings giving the meaning 'to act on so as to cause to get broken').

The nominalizing postbase **@~ɾ+vik** means 'place to *V*'. **tf** resulting from this postbase becomes just **f** after a fricative but stays **tf** after a vowel (similarly to the precessive mood marker **@~ɾ+vagilg(a)-** and the postbase **@~ɾ+miqe-** 'to compel').

Examples:

base	*with postbase*
aghula-	**aghulavik** 'place to Eskimo dance'
negh<e>-	**neghvik** 'place to eat'
taaqe-	**taaqfik** 'place to stop'
kaate-	**kaatfik** 'place to arrive'
ingaghte-	**ingaghfik** 'place to lie down'
yughagh-	**yughaghvik** 'place to pray, church'

Discussion of grammatical topics:
1st person singular subject optatives, and 3rd person subject optatives:

In addition to 2nd person subject optatives (Chapter 10) which are used to make commands or requests, Yupik has 1st and 3rd person subject optatives. These are rather difficult to translate into English. For example, the 3rd person singular intransitive optative, **aanli**, could be translated as 'let him go out' but not in the sense of a 2nd person to 3rd person '(you) let (i.e. allow) him to go out' which would be **aanestigu**. Rather, it means 'let him go out' in the sense that one might say 'okay, let him go out, I don't mind'. Alternatively, **aanli** could be translated as 'may he go out' but not in the sense of a question about whether or not it is permissible for him to go out. Rather it means 'may he go out' in the sense that a prayer starting with 'may' can express a wish. **Aanli** can also be translated as 'he may go out' or 'he should go out'. There is no one phrasing in English that corresponds exactly to 3rd person subject and 1st person singular subject optatives.

The endings below are selected 1st and 3rd person subject optatives. **@** indicates that **t** of a base combining with **l** of the ending give **ll**.

@~ɾ+langa	'let me *V*, may I *V*'
@~ɾ+lakun	'let me *V* it, may I *V* it'
@~ɾ+langi	'let me *V* them, may I *V* them'
@~ɾ+lamken	'let me *V* you, may I *V* you'

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@~ɾ+li	'let him *V*, may he *V*'
@~ɾ+ligu	'let him *V* him, may he *V* him'
@~ɾ+liki	'let him *V* them, may he *V* them'
@~ɾ+linga	'let him *V* me, may he *V* me'
@~ɾ+liten	'let him *V* you, may he *V* you'

Examples:

Kayusiillamken. 'Let me help you; may I help you.'
Qavaghlanga. 'Let me sleep; I should sleep.'
Neghligu. 'Let him eat it; he may eat it'

Verb bases used directly with oblique case noun endings:

Certain verb bases in certain circumstances may be used with unpossessed oblique case endings as if they were noun bases.

Examples:

tagiiq piyugmeng 'he came walking' *(ablative-modalis ending)*
aghulaaquq pinitun 'he is dancing well' *(aequalis ending)*
tagimun sukatut 'coming they went fast' *(terminalis ending)*

The Yupik numeral system:

The Yupik numerical system is a "base 20" system with "sub-bases" at 5 and 10 as the following list shows.

ataasiq 'one' (note singular ending)
maalghuk 'two' (note dual ending)
pingayut 'three' (note plural ending)
estamat 'four'
tallimat 'five' (contains the word for 'arm')
aghvinlek 'six' (contains the base for 'crossing over')
maaghraghvinlek 'seven' (apparently contains a version of the word for 'two' combined with the word for 'six'; it is very unusual for words to compound this way in Eskimo languages)
pingayuneng inglulek 'eight' (literally means 'one having a complement of three'
estamaneng inglulek 'nine'
qula 'ten' (contains the word for 'upper part')
qula ataasiq siipneqluku 'eleven' (literally means 'ten having a remainder of one')
qula maalghuk siipneqlukek 'twelve'
qula pingayut siipneqluki 'thirteen'
qula estamat siipneqluki 'fourteen'
akimigaq 'fifteen' (contains the word for 'other side')
qula aghvinlek siipneqluku 'sixteen'
qula maaghraghvinlek siipneqluku 'seventeen'
qula pingayuneng inglulek siipneqluku 'eighteen'
qula estamaneng inglulek siipneqluku 'nineteen'
yuginaq 'twenty' (contains the word for 'person')
(numerals from 21 to 39 formed with **yuginaq** and smaller numerals)
yugek maalghuk 'forty' (literally 'two persons')
(numerals from 41 to 59 formed with **yugek maalghuk** and numerals less than 20)
yuget pingayut 'sixty' (literally 'three persons')
(etc.)

In addition to their use in counting, numerals are used as appositives to other nouns, incorporated into verbs by verbalizing postbases, and in the ablative-modalis case *specification* use (to give more information about a noun which has been verbalized).

Examples:

Tallimat tengegkayuget nalugtut. 'Five airplanes landed.'
Asagenka aghvinleguut. 'My aunts are six in number.'
Qikmighrugllalguunga maaghraghvinlegneng. 'I have seven big dogs.

Future optatives:

In Chapter 10 and in the present chapter we have examined optatives directed at the present time. However, when optatives are directed at a future time, they are expressed by different constructions.

The special verb-elaborating postbase **@-lgha-/-ghha-/-gga-** together with the intransitive indicative mood endings gives intransitive future optatives. The form **-lgha-** is used with vowel ending bases, **-ghha-** with **gh**-ending bases, and **-gga-** with **g**-ending bases.

Examples:

Neghelghaaten. 'Eat (in the future)!' *(***neghelghaaten** *comes from underlying* **neghelghauten***)*
Qavaghhaaten. 'Sleep (in the future)!'
Ukiggaaten. 'Go down (in the future)!'
Qiyalghaaq. 'Let him cry (in the future)!'
Aglaghhaakut. 'Let's go home (in the future)!'
Neghenghillghaakut. 'Let's not eat (in the future)!'

The special verb-elaborating postbase **@~ɾ+na-** together with the transitive participial verb endings gives the transitive future optatives [at least for 2nd person subjects].

Examples:

Neghnaken. 'Eat it (in the future)!'
Tugunaketen. 'Take them (in the future)!'

The special verb-elaborating postbase **@~+yaquna-** with endings like the person/number markers for the special subordinative marked by **@na-** for negative bases (see Chapter 15) gives an emphatic future 2nd person subject negative optative.

Examples:

Neghyaqunang. 'Don't ever eat (in the future)!'
Neghyaqunaan. 'Don't ever eat it (in the future)!'
Neghyaqunaki. 'Don't ever eat them (in the future)!'

Participial-Oblique Mood:

There is one additional verb mood besides those discussed previously. This is the *participial-oblique mood.* Its marker is **@~ɾ+yalghii-** for the intransitive, and **@~ɾ+yaqe-** for the transitive (and thus evidently arises from a postbase **@~ɾ+yagh-**

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and the participial mood (see Chapter 11)). The participial-oblique mood can be translated as 'when (in the past) one *V*-ed', and thus is like the *consequential I* mood, but perhaps indicates an element of surprise or contrast with the event of the main verb. The participial-oblique mood takes ending of the connective moods (except that 1st person subject endings are like the indicative mood instead). Also, 3rd person non-reflexive endings are not used. A verb in the participial-oblique mood is used in continuing discourse and refers to the subject of the preceding sentences, and 3R, rather than non-reflexive 3rd person, endings are used to refer to that subject, even if that subject is not the same as the subject of the main verb of the sentence having a dependent verb in the participial-oblique mood.

Example:

Yuget qavaghtut mangteghami. Qavaghyalghiimeng aqelqaq kaatuq.
The people slept in the house. When they slept a visitor arrived.

Exercises:

Translate the following into English:
1) Tuunlakun qalqalima elpenun. 2) Yuqeghllanga. 3) Akmaneghpallut alingengigatut kamagrameng. 4) Aapnaken aatghaneng piyukuvek kiyaghfiinun. 5) Neghyaqunaan kukupak gaaghpenaan. 6) Ighneqa aanli esghaannaluni kiighwyameng. 7) Aqfalangi yuwayut siqlugameng. 8) Kitum pikakek iingkuk qallevagek? 9) Ruuseghmiit aglaghtut esghaasameng quutmeng. 10) Piyaalghaakut taghnughhaanka qavaqata. 11) Apaka maaghraghvinlegneng qikmilguuq.

Translate the following into Yupik: 1) Let your son put the ringed seal meat in the cellar. 2) Let me visit the old women who have gray dogs. 3) He told me that you caught three foxes trapping. 4) Eat (in the future) all the berries. 5) Let them go dog sledding (in the future). 6) What is the price of these overalls? 7) Is he sleeping? 8) Is he taking a walk? 9) Let's go out to see the aurora. 10) My mother saw elephants when she went outside (of Alaska). 11) Do camels live in Asia?. 12) Maybe the child is sleeping up above. 13) Let me throw it away. 14) Let him go out to play. 15) Let him use my gun to hunt loons. 16) Whose is this? 17) That one is my wife's older sister. 18) They went to their trapping place back there inland. 19) Seven Russians arrived here by airplane. 20) I have two children. 21) My sisters are four in number. 22) I have a lot of aunts. 23) Maybe the Russians will come here tomorrow.

Write the following in Yupik: 1) eighty-seven 2) forty-nine 3) fifty-one 4) one hundred and seventeen 5) fifty-five

Appendix I

Noun case endings

In the charts of case endings below, the order adopted is "singular", then "plural", and finally "dual". This has been done because singular and plural forms are often alike and can be treated together with the arrangement here.

Charts of endings are not given for the localis and terminalis cases because these endings are just like the ablative-modalis endings except for having mi/ni for the localis, and mun/nun for the terminalis, in place of the meng/neng of the albative-modalis.

ABSOLUTIVE CASE ENDINGS

*person \ and \ number of \ possessed *		*number of possessum*		
		singular	*plural*	*dual*
unpossessed		∅	~$_{sf}$(e)%:t	~$_{sf}$(e)%:k
	sing	~:(ng)a	~:(ng)i	~$_{f}$%kek
3rd	*plur*	~:(ng)at	~:(ng)it	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gket
	dual	~:(ng)ak	~:(ng)ik	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gkek
	sing	~-ka	~$_{sf}$:%(e)nka	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gka
1st	*plur*	+put/vut[1]	-put	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gput
	dual	+pung/vung[1]	-pung	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gpung
	sing	~$_{sf}$(e)%:n	~$_{f}$%ten	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gken
2nd	*plur*	+si/zi[2]	-si	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gsi
	dual	+tek/yek[3]	-tek	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gtek
	sing	-ni	-ni	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gni
3R	*plur*	+teng/yeng[3]	-teng	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gteng
	dual	+tek/yek[3]	-tek	~$_{sf}$(e)%:gtek

[1] *The* p*-initial form is used with consonant-ending bases and the* v*-initial form with vowel-ending bases.*

[2] *The* s*-initial form is used with consonant-ending bases and the* z*-initial form with vowel-ending bases.*

[3] *The* t*-initial form is used with consonant-ending bases and the* y*-initial form with vowel-ending bases.*

Appendix I

RELATIVE CASE ENDINGS

person \ and \ number of \ possessed	*number of possessum*		
	singular	*plural*	*dual*
unpossessed	~$_{sf}$:%(e)m	~$_{sf}$:%(e)t	~$_{sf}$:%(e)k
3rd sing	~:(ng)an	~:(ng)in	~$_{sf}$:%(e)gkenka
3rd plur	~:(ng)ita	~:(ng)ita	~$_{sf}$:%(e)gkenka
3rd dual	~:(ng)ita	~:(ng)ita	~$_{sf}$:%(e)gkenka
1st sing	~$_{f}$%ma		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gma
1st plur	-mta		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gemta
1st dual	-mtung		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gemtung
2nd sing	-gpek		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gpek
2nd plur	-gpesi		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gpesi
2nd dual	-gpetek		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gpetek
3R sing	~$_{f}$%mi		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gmi
3R plur	~$_{f}$%meng		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gmeng
3R dual	~$_{f}$%meng		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gmeng

ABLATIVE-MODALIS CASE ENDINGS

person \ and \ number of \ possessed	*number of possessum*		
	singular	*plural*	*dual*
unpossessed	~$_{f}$:meng	:neng	~$_{sf}$:%(e)gneng
3rd sing	~:(ng)aneng	~:(ng)ineng	~$_{sf}$:%(e)gkeneng
3rd plur	~:(ng)itneng	~:(ng)itneng /	~:(ng)itneng
3rd dual	~$_{sf}$:%(e)gkeneng	~:(ng)itneng /	~:(ng)itneng
1st sing	-mneng	/	~$_{sf}$:%(e)gemneng
1st plur	-mnneng	/	~$_{sf}$:%(e)gemnnengta
1st dual	-mtegneng		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gemtegneng
2nd sing	-gpe(g)neng		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gpe(g)neng
2nd plur	-gpesineng		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gpesineng
2nd dual	-gpetegneng		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gpetegneng
3R sing	~$_{f}$%mineng		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gmineng
3R plur	~$_{f}$%meggneng		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gmeggneng
3R dual	~$_{f}$%meg(te)neng		~$_{sf}$:%(e)gmeg(te)neng

Appendix I

VIALIS CASE ENDINGS

person \ and \ number of \ possessed		*number of possessum*		
		singular	*plural*	*dual*
unpossessed		~f%kun	~sf%:(e)tgun	~sf%:(e)gnegun
	sing	~:(ng)akun	~:(ng)ikun	~sf%:(e)gkenkun
3rd	*plur*	~:(ng)itgun	~:(ng)itgun	~:(ng)itgun
	dual	~sf%:(e)gkenkun	~:(ng)akun	~:(ng)itgun
	sing	-mkun		~sf%:(e)gemkun
1st	*plur*	-mteggun		~sf%:(e)gemteggun
	dual	-mtegnegun		~sf%:(e)gemtegnegun
	sing	-gpegun		~sf%:(e)gpegun
2nd	*plur*	-gpesigun		~sf%:(e)gpesigun
	dual	-gpetegnegun		~sf%:(e)gpetegnegun
	sing	~f%mikun		~sf%:(e)gmikun
3R	*plur*	~f%megteggun		~sf%:(e)gmegteggun
	dual	~f%megtegnegun		~sf%:(e)gmegtegnegun

AEQUALIS CASE ENDINGS

person \ and \ number of \ possessed		*number of possessum*		
		singular	*plural*	*dual*
unpossessed		~f%tun	~sf%:(e)stun	~sf%:(e)gestun
	sing	~:(ng)atun	~:(ng)itun	~sf%:(e)gketun
3rd	*plur*	~:(ng)itun	~:(ng)itun	~:(ng)itun
	dual	~sf%:(e)gketun	~:(ng)itun	~:(ng)itun
	sing	-mtun		~sf%:(e)gemtun
1st	*plur*	-mtestun		~sf%:(e)gemtestun
	dual	-mtegestun		~sf%:(e)gemtegestun
	sing	-gpetun		~sf%:(e)gpetun
2nd	*plur*	-gpesistun		~sf%:(e)gpesistun
	dual	-gpetegetun		~sf%:(e)gpetegetun
	sing	~f%mitun		~sf%:(e)gmitun
3R	*plur*	~f%megestun		~sf%:(e)gmegestun
	dual	~f%megestun		~sf%:(e)gmegestun

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Appendix II

Verb mood endings

INDICATIVE AND PARTICIPIAL MOOD ENDINGS

s \ u \ b \ . \	*intransitive* *mood marker*	*intransitive* *subject marker*	*transitive* *mood marker*	*transitive* *3rd person object marker* *sing.*	*plural*	*dual*
s.		ø		:(ng)a[1]	:(ng)i	-k
3rd p.		-t		:(ng)at	:(ng)it	-gket
d.		-k		:(ng)ak	:(ng)ik	-gket
	indic.:		*indic.:*			
s.	~ɾ+(g/t)	-nga	~ɾ+agh-	-(g)ka[2]	-nka	-gka
1st p.	ugh-	-kut		+put/vut[3]	-put	-gput
d.		-kung		+pung/vung	-pung	-gpung
	part.:[4]		*part.:*[5]			
s.	@-lghii-	-ten	@~-ka-/	-n	-ten	-gken
2nd p.		-si	@~-ke-	+si/zi[3]	-si	-gsi
d.		-tek		+tek/yek[3]	-tek	-gtek

[1] *The* (ng) *is used with the participial marker.*
[2] *This ending is* qa *for indicative,* gka *for participial.*
[3] *The* +p, +s, *and* +t *forms are used with the indicative, and the* v, z, *and* y *forms are used with the participial.*
[4] *For negative and stative* te*-ending bases, the intransitive participial marker is* @ngugh-.
[5] *The form* ka- *is used with 3rd person subject endings, and the form* ke- *is used with 1st and 2nd person subject endings.*

Below is a continuation of the transitive part of the above chart and has the same mood markers.

s \ u \ b \ . \	*transitive* *1st person object* *sing.*	*plural*	*dual*	*2nd person object* *sing.*	*plural*	*dual*
s.	:(ng)anga[1]	inkut	inkung	:(ng)aten[1]	isi	itek
3rd p.	atnga	inkut	inkung	aten	isi	itek
d.	agnenga	inkut	inkung	aten	isi	itek
s.				-mken[1]	msi	mtek
1st p.				mken	msi	mtek
d.				mken	msi	mtek
s.	+penga/vnga[2]	pekut	pekung	:--:		
2nd p.	pesinga	pesikut	pesikung	:--:		
d.	petegnenga	petegnekut	petegnekung			

[1] *The other endings in each of these squares start similarly.*
[2] *The other endings in this square also have a* +pe*-initial form for use after a consonant (i.e. with the indicative marker) and a* v*-initial or* f*-initial form for use after a vowel (i.e. with the participial marker).*

Appendix II

INTERROGATIVE MOOD ENDINGS

s \ u \ b \ . \	intransitive mood marker	intransitive subject marker	transitive mood marker	transitive 3rd person object marker sing.	plural	dual
s.		a		agu	aki	akek
3rd p.	~ʃ+(g/t)	at	~ʃ+(g/t)	atgu	atki	atkek
d.		ak		agnegu	agneki	agnekek
s.	~ʃ+(t)zinga		~ʃ+(t)zi-	kun	ngi	gngek
1st p.	~sʃ+(e) ste-	a ung	~sʃ+(e) ste-	ggu gnegu	ki gneki	kek gnekek
d.						
s.	~ʃ+(t)zin		~ʃ+(t)zi-	gu	ki	kek
2nd p.	~sʃ+(e)tsi		~sʃ+(e) ste-	ggu gnegu	ki gneki	kek gnekek
d.	~sʃ+(e)stek					

Below is a continuation of the transitive part of the above chart and has the same mood markers.

s \ u \ b \ . \	transitive 1st person object sing.	plural	dual	transitive 2nd person object sing.	plural	dual
s.	anga	inkut	inkung	aten	isi	istek
3rd p.	atnga	inkut	inkung	aten	isi	istek
d.	agnenga	inkut	inkung	aten	isi	istek
s.				ken		
1st p.				ken		
d.				ken		
s.	nga	kut	kung			
2nd p.	ngnga	kut	kung			
d.	gnenga	gnekut	gnekung			

Appendix II

OPTATIVE MOOD ENDINGS

s \ u \ b \ .	intransitive mood marker	intransitive subject marker	transitive mood marker	transitive 3rd person object marker: sing.	plural	dual
s.		∅		gu	ki	kek
3rd p.	ə̃ʃli-	t	ə̃ʃli-	tgu	tki	tkek
d.		k		gnegu	gneki	gnekek
s.	ə̃ʃlanga		ə̃ʃla-	kun	ngi	ngak
1st p.	̃sʃ:(e)	a	̃sʃ:(e)	ggu	ki	kek
d.	lt-	ung	lte-	gnegu	gneki	gnekek
s.	*see text*		+(i)-	*see text*	ki	kek
2nd p.	ə+(i)-	tek	ə+(i)-	teggu	teki	tekek
d.		tek		tegnegu	tegneki	tegnekek

Below is a continuation of the transitive part of the above chart and has the same mood markers.

s \ u \ b \ .	transitive: 1st person object sing.	plural	dual	2nd person object sing.	plural	dual
s.	nga	kut	kung	ten	si	tek
3rd p.	tnga	nkut	nkung	ten	si	tek
d.	gnenga	nkut	nkung	ten	si	tek
s.	*2nd pers. obj. endings -->*			mken	msi	mtek
1st p.	*all have* ə̃ʃla *as*			mken	msi	mtek
d.	*marker*			mken	msi	mtek
s.	nga	kut	kung			
2nd p.	tengnga	tekut	tekung			
d.	tegnenga	tegnekut	tegnekung			

Appendix II

SUBORDINATIVE MOOD ENDINGS

subj.	intransitive: mood marker	intransitive: subject marker	transitive: mood marker	transitive: 3rd person object marker: sing.	plural	dual
3rd s.		ni		ku	ki	kek
3rd p.		teng				
3rd d.		tek				
1st s.		nga		*same as above*		
1st p.	@~ɾlu-[1]	ta	@~ɾlu-[1]	*for any subject*		
1st d.		tung				
2nd s.		ten				
2nd p.		si				
2nd d.		tek				

[1] *For negative verbs ending in* te *the marker is* @na-.

Below is a continuation of the transitive part of the above chart and has the same mood markers.

subj.	transitive: 1st person object: sing.	plural	dual	2nd person object: sing.	plural	dual
3rd s.	nga	ta	kung	ten	si	tek
3rd p.						
3rd d.						
1st s.						
1st p.	*same as above for any subject*					
1st d.						
2nd s.						
2nd p.						
2nd d.						

Appendix II

ENDINGS OF THE CONNECTIVE MOODS

sub.	intransitive mood marker	intransitive subject marker	transitive mood marker	transitive 3rd person object marker: sing.	plural	dual
3rd s.		an		agu	aki	akek
3rd p.		ita		atgu	atki	atkek
3rd d.		yek/gkenka		agnegu	agneki	agnekek
1st s.		ma		mkun	mki	mkek
1st p.		mta		mteggu	mteki	mtekek
1st d.	see text	mtung	see text	mtegnegu	mtegneki	mtegnekek
2nd s.		vek/+pek[1]		vgu	fki	fkek
2nd p.		fsi		fsigu	fsiki	fsikek
2nd d.		ftek		ftegnegu	ftegneki	ftegnekek
3R s.		mi(ni)[2]		mi(ni)gu	mi(ni)ki	mi(ni)kek
3R p.		meng		megteggu	megteki	megtekek
3R d.		mek		megnegu	megneki	megnekek

[1] *The* v *and* f*-initial forms are used with all vowel-ending mood markers, that is, all except the concessive.*
[2] (ni) *used with contemporative and optionally other moods.*

Below is a continuation of the transitive part of the above chart and has the same mood markers.

sub.	transitive: 1st pers. obj. s.	p.	d.	2nd pers. obj. s.	p.	d.	3R object s.	p.	d.
3rd s.	anga	inkut	inkung	aten	isi	istek	atni	isteng	istek
3rd p.	atnga	inkut	inkung	aten	isi	istek	atni	isteng	istek
3rd d.	agnenga	inkut	inkung	aten	isi	istek	atni	isteng	istek
1st s.				mken	msi	mtek	mni	mteng	mtek
1st p.				mken	msi	mtek	mnni	mteng	mtek
1st d.				mken	msi	mtek	*like 3rd pers. obj.*		
2nd s.	vnga	fkut	fkung						
2nd p.	fsinga	fsikut	fsikung				*like 3rd pers. obj.*		
2nd d.	ftegnenga	ftegnekut	ftegnekung						
3R s.	mi(ni)nga	mi(ni)kut	mi(ni)kung	miten[1]	misi	mitek			
3R p.	megtengnga	megtekut	megtekung	miten	misi	mitek			
3R d.	megnenga	megnekut	megnekung	miten	misi	mitek			
	1st person object			*2nd person object*			*3R*		

[1] *All endings in this square are understood to have* (ni).

Appendix III

Personal Pronouns

1st Person Pronouns 'I, me, we$_{pl}$, us$_{pl}$, we$_2$, us$_2$'

	singular	*plural*	*dual*
abs./rel.	whanga 'I, me'	whangkuta	whangkutung
terminalis	whangamnun 'to me'	whangkunnun	whangkutegnun
vialis	whangamkun 'by me'	whangkutgun	whangkutegnegun
aequalis	whangamtun 'like me'	whangkutestun	whangkutegestun

2nd Person Pronouns 'you$_1$, you$_{pl}$, you$_2$'

	singular	*plural*	*dual*
abs./rel.	elpek 'you'	elpesi	elpetek
terminalis	elpenun 'to you'	elpesinun	elpetegnun
vialis	elpegun 'by you'	elpesigun	elpetegnekun
aequalis	elpetun 'like you'	elpesistun	elpetegestun

3rd Person Pronouns 'he, him, she, her, it, they ,them'

	singular	*plural*	*dual*
absolutive	ellnga 'he, him'	ellngit	elkek
relative	ellngan 'he, him'	ellngita	elkek
terminalis	ellnganun 'to him'	ellngitnun	elkegkenun
vialis	ellngakun 'by him'	ellngitgun	elkegkenkun
aequalis	ellngatun 'like him'	ellngi(te)stun	elkegkegestun

3R Person Pronouns

	singular	*plural*	*dual*
abs./rel.	ellmi 'himself'	ellmeng	ellmeng
terminalis	ellminun 'to himself'	ellmeggnun	ellmeg(te)nun
vialis	ellmikun 'by himself'	ellmegteggun	ellmegtegnegun
aequalis	ellmitun 'like . . .'	ellmegestun	ellmegestun

ablative-modalis and localis are formed similarly to terminalis

Appendix IV

Summary of ways base-final te is affected by suffixes

In this book all suffixes which affect base-final **te** in any way are marked with the single symbol, **@**. There are however a number of different ways in which these suffixes affect **te**. It is usually but not always predictable from the sounds with which the suffix starts how it will affect **te** (and even whether or not it will affect **te** at all).

Of vowel-initial suffixes, only those starting with **i** (in the form in which they are used with **te**-ending bases) affect **te**, but not all of the **i**-initial suffixes affect **te**. For example, the "half-transitive" postbase, **~ɾ+i-** and the 2nd person singular to third person singular optative ending do not change **t**. From **tuqute-** 'to kill', comes **tuqutiiq** 'he killed something', and **tuqutigu** 'kill it!', and from **qelpeghte-** 'to open', comes **qelpeghtiiq** 'he opened something', and **qelpeghtigu** 'open it!'. On the other hand, the postbases **@~:(ng)igate-** and **@~:(i/u)ma-** change **t** to **s**, giving **tuqusigatii** 'he never kills them' and **qelpeghsimaaq** 'it has been opened'.

te-initial suffixes like the endings for 2nd person non-singular optative, such as **@~ɾ+(i)teggu** 'you$_{pl}$ *V* it!, drop base-final **te** altogether. For example, from **tuqute-** comes **tuquteggu** 'you$_{pl}$, kill it!', and from **qelpeghte-** comes **qelpeghteggu** 'you$_{pl}$, open it!'.

For other consonant-initial suffixes there are three patterns: one for suffixes starting with a *labial* continuant, **v** or **m**, another for suffixes starting with an *apical* continuant, **n**, **y**, **z**, **r** or **l**, and the third for those starting with the *velar* stop **k**.

In the following discussion one must keep in mind the varied spelling conventions for showing voicelessness.

Labial-initial suffixes, such as **@~ɾ+vagilg(a)-** 'before *V*-ing', and **@~ɾ+miqe-** 'to compel one to *V*', drop the **e** of base-final **te** when that **te** is preceded by a vowel, and drop the entire **te** when it is preceded by a fricative making the resulting cluster of fricative plus labial voiceless. For example, from **tuqute-** 'to kill' come **tuqutfagilgaku** 'before he killed it' **tuqutmiqaa** 'he compelled someone to kill it', and from **qelpeghte-** come **qelpeghfagilgaku** 'before he opened it' and **qelpeghhmiqaa** 'he compelled someone to open it'.

Apical-initial suffixes, such as **@~ɾ+naqe-** 'to be going to *V*', **@~ɾ+yug-** 'to want to *V*', **@~ɾ+zigu** 'did you *V* it?', **@~ɾ+ragkiigh-** 'to *V* quickly', and **@~ɾ+luku** 'after *V*-ing it', drop base-final **te** whether there is a consonant or a vowel preceding it, making the initial consonant of the suffix, as well as any fricative preceding it, voiceless. For example, from **tuqute-** come **tuqunnaqaa** 'he is going to kill it', **tuqusugaa** 'he wants to kill it', **tuqusigu** 'did you kill it?', **tuqurragkiighaa** 'he killed it quickly' and **tuqulluku** 'after killing it', while from **qelpeghte-** come **qelpeghhnaqaa** 'he is going to open it', **qelpeghsugaa** 'he wants to open it', **qelpeghsigu** 'did you open it?', **qelpeghhragkiighaa** 'he opened it quickly' and **qelpeghlluku** 'after opening it'.

Velar-initial suffixes, such as **@~-k(u)-** 'if or when one *V*-s', optionally change the **t** of **te** which is preceded by a vowel on

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the base to **s**, but leave **te** preceded by a consonant on the base as it is. For example, from **tuqute-** comes **tuqutkuvgu** or **tuquskuvgu** 'if or when you kill it', while from **qelpeghte-** comes **qelpeghtekuvgu** 'if or when you open it'.